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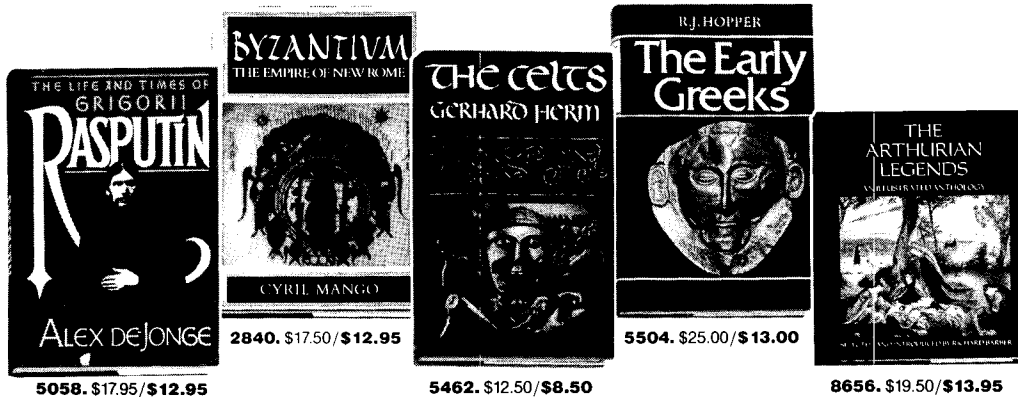
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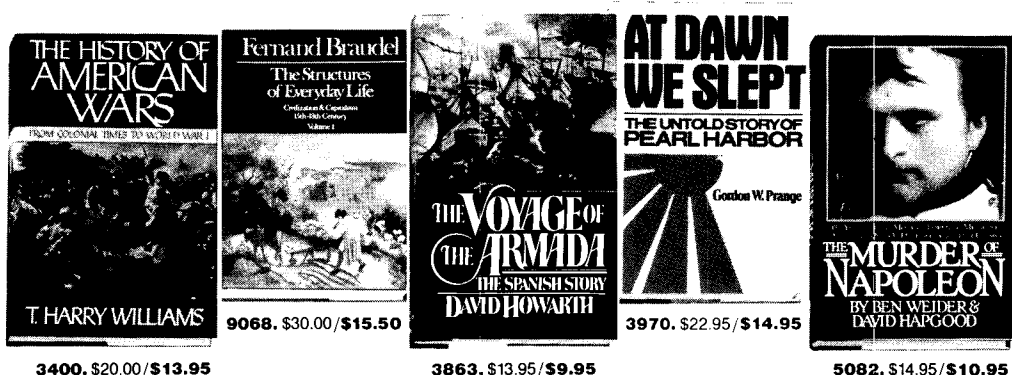


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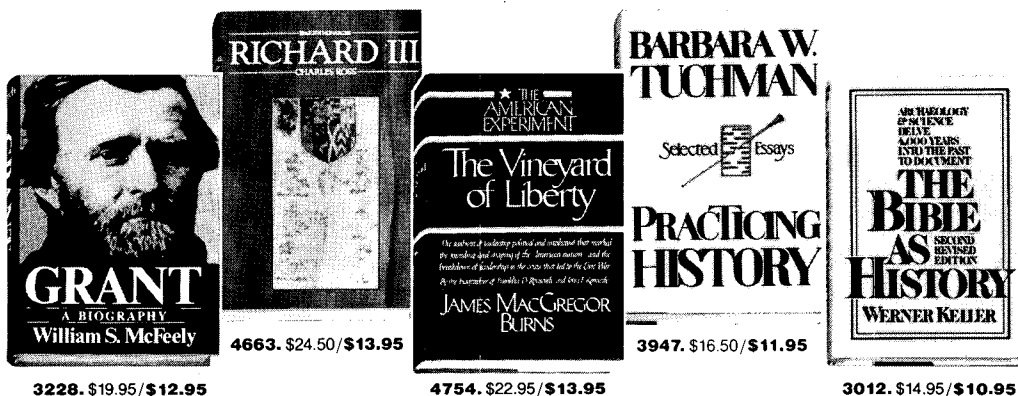
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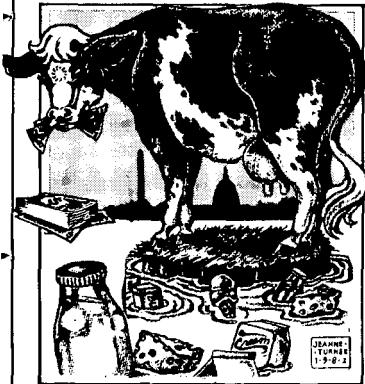
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by Peter Pringle

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Last year taxpayers paid out a record high of \$1.8 billion in dairy subsidies, which explains why dairy farmers look so contented. And as Dennis Cauchon points out, Bossy Cow's milk isn't the only food you underwrite—there are apricots, barley, celery, dates, grapefruit, honey, limes . . .

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In the name of nonintervention the left will stage a rally against American aid to the dictators of El Salvador and then turn around and demand aid for the Nicaraguan dictators. Why the double standard?

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Midas in reverse. The King Midases in Washington want to solve the "energy crisis" of cheaper oil by touching your wallet for another \$48 billion in oil tax.

by Jack Shafer

**"We could do it,
but it would be wrong"**

■ At a private meeting at the Pentagon last month, some officials expressed worry about a possible public outcry over felony prosecutions of young men who failed to register for the draft, according to a transcript of that meeting. . . .

"I think the cases should be quiet and pick the right jurisdiction so you don't end up in New York or Chicago, and end up in Omaha or somewhere like that for your first few trials," [John S. Herrington, assistant secretary of the Navy for manpower and reserve affairs] said.

"Not the District of Columbia," [Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger] added.

"There can't be any selective prosecution," [Major General Thomas K. Turnage, director of the Selective Service System] replied, "but I understand there is prosecutorial discretion, and I have got some names."

"Actually," Mr. Weinberger said, "that is somewhat out of our hands because we could make recommendations if we wish to do so about urging [the Justice Department] to exercise this discretion in view of current situations and all, but we can't interpose ourselves on them since a felony has been committed or at least we have reason to believe it has."

—*New York Times*, May 20, 1982

Or perhaps you'd like to topple Nicaragua

■ This may be RIF season for many federal agencies, but not the Central Intelligence Agency, which turned last week to the airwaves in a search for new employees.

"If you would like to help shape a world to come, send your resume to the CIA," intoned the narrator of a radio advertisement broadcast by two [Washington, D.C.] stations.

—*Washington Post*, May 24, 1982

Or lightly sautéed with garlic

■ What is the proper way to prepare garbage for hogs? The Agriculture Department suggests boiling the garbage for at least thirty minutes before serving.

—*Washington Post*, April 19, 1982

Rea Publica

Will's Mecca

■ Contemporary conservatism awaits its Burke or Webster—someone who, when he speaks of the nation's expression of itself through the national government, speaks with the soul of a poet rather than a corporate comptroller. Too many conservatives have a crabbed and dispiriting attitude toward the central government. Most Americans—their occasional rhetoric notwithstanding—do not. Watch the faces of families touring Washington; count the buses bringing high school students on class trips each spring. People visit New York; they make pilgrimages to Washington.

—*George F. Will in the
Washington Post*, May 23, 1982



Get the Raid

■ "I guess everybody has to be an insect around here to function," said Representative George Hansen, Republican of Idaho, as he arrived at a news conference to announce still another entomological subspecies of congressmen, "the honeybees."

This group of conservative Republicans vows to "sweeten the pot" with tighter revenue collections and the introduction of a flat tax rate to discourage tax cheaters.

The nascent "honeybees" join the fitting political world of the "boll weevils" (conservative Democrats who side with President Reagan's economic policy), the "gypsy moths" (urban Republican moderates concerned about cuts in social service programs), and the "yellowjackets" (conservative Republicans swarming for deeper budget cuts).

—*New York Times*, June 3, 1982

Government study shows need for additional passive-restraint systems

■ Dancing may be romantic, but it can also be dangerous. So, too, can cheerleading, owning an aquarium, walking up or down stairs, and getting into and out of bed.

In fact, a new [federal] government survey on injuries shows Americans manage to hurt themselves on virtually every type of object, right down to "pencils, pens, and other desk supplies. . . ."

Dancing was No. 72 on the survey's list of 183 products and activities that result in injuries. The survey estimated that 26,000 people went from the dance floor to the hospital in the year. . . .

More people are injured around the bed (199,000) than in the bath or shower (83,000) or on bar stools (12,000).

—*New York Times*, May 9, 1982

He should know

■ Chastising "ladies of the press for aggressive tactics," Richard Nixon said women reporters "lose something" by becoming as "crude and as ruthless and as vulgar as men are."

—*Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1982

Now that's Express Mail

■ A seventy-four-year-old Martinez [California] woman received the shock of her life when a letter from her father arrived Monday in the mail—he died in Arkansas nearly seven years ago.

—*Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1982

Wait until David Gergen hears this

■ Print something against the government in Pakistan, and you're not only jailed but beaten as well.

Last year, for example, a court in Karachi sentenced Irshad Rao, editor and publisher of the weekly "Al Fatah," to a year in prison and ten lashes for publishing what the authorities classified as "objectionable literature." Two other workers on the paper were each sentenced to one year in prison and five lashes.

—*Parade*, May 9, 1982

Inquiries

Defrocking the nuclear priesthood . . .

Making sense of atomic arithmetic

A specter is haunting Washington: the extraordinary, if still largely inchoate, groundswell of public sentiment against the nuclear arms race. Faced with the threat of world annihilation by the equivalent of more than 20,000,000,000,000 pounds of TNT, the American people by nearly three to one favor a bilateral freeze on the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons. With the Reagan administration preparing us all for a "prolonged" nuclear war, and with the head of its arms-control agency calling for the United States to achieve nuclear "superiority," it comes as no surprise that nearly six of every ten citizens have come to believe that the government cannot be trusted to make the right decisions about arms control. In short, an angry population stands ready to defrock the nuclear priesthood that for thirty-seven years has arrogated to itself the right to decide the fate of the human race.

The nuclear-freeze organizers have a long way to go before they translate general public sentiment into hard political influence. The Cold War establishment is doing all it can to discredit them. Eugene Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has urged the White House to launch a media campaign to counter the "growing stridency and hysteria" of the anti-nuclear-weapons movement. Conservative journals tell sinister tales of "Soviet manipulation" and PLO agitators behind the freeze movement. The liberal *New Republic* derides the movement as a fuzzy-headed religious crusade.

This Marxist-inspired religious mania for arms control has now infected even the likes of conservative columnist James Kilpatrick and the impeccably Republican congressman from Texas, Ron Paul. But the infection goes deeper than that, all the way to the core of our military establishment. An editorial in *Army Times* says it all:

If the nuclear deadlock is to be broken—and it must be—Americans will have to take the lead. Rather than patronizing those who are calling for a freeze, Reagan should listen and learn. While an abrupt nuclear freeze without verification would be folly, the concept of stopping the race toward

Armageddon now is hard to fault. Finding a sensible way to attain that end will tax the best minds on the planet, but it must be done.

However, even as most Americans deeply desire an end to the arms race, so most remain suspicious of Soviet aims. Legitimate doubts have been raised about the nuclear-freeze proposal, quite apart from the cheap redbaiting of the conservative press. Those doubts deserve to be addressed.

Aren't the Russians now ahead of the United States in strategic weapons? Wouldn't a freeze merely prevent us from catching up?

Administration officials insist that unless the United States builds up its nuclear arsenal—or convinces the Soviets to cut their own—we will not be able to bargain from a position of equality. General John Vessey, Jr., the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says a nuclear freeze would be "dangerous" because the Soviets have more missiles and more explosive power than the United States. "In that sense," he told a Senate committee, "they are superior to us." Ironically, however, even Reagan's ambitious plans to bring forth new generations of missiles and bombers would do nothing to alleviate this alleged imbalance. New systems always take many years to produce—witness the B-1 bomber, which has been in development since 1962 and has yet to be fielded. The United States no longer produces Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and hasn't even decided on a basing mode for the proposed MX missile. The Soviets, on the other hand, are equipped to build large numbers of potent SS-18 and SS-19 ICBMs and SS-20 intermediate-range missiles aimed at Europe. As General Richard Ellis of the Strategic Air Command noted in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Soviets "have a hot production base, and, without any sort of constraints, they can keep fielding systems without the production delays with which we are faced. . . . If we have to compete with them in a head-to-head race with their hot production lines—and we have no hot production lines either in bombers or ICBMs—then we will have a great deal of difficulty ever regaining the 1977 balance of strategic power." A bilateral freeze, in short, offers the most realistic way to halt the relative slide in America's strategic power.

But is America really "behind"? It all depends on how selectively you choose the statistics. The Soviets do surpass us in the total number of their launchers (missiles and bombers) and in the total explosive power of their warheads. On the other hand, the United States has about 2000 more bombs and warheads than they do, and our missiles are generally more accurate. (Accuracy is more important than explosive power in determining the destructive power of a warhead.) What does all this mean? Take it from Secretary of State Alexander Haig: "In a contemporary sense, the United States is very, very strong, and very, very capable, especially in the strategic area. Our systems are both more sophisticated and reliable and more technologically sound."

"Superiority" and "inferiority" in strategic weaponry

can't be judged merely by counting launchers or "throw-weights" or any number of other arcane measures. What really counts is whether we have *sufficient* forces to reliably deter a Soviet attack. If the Soviets outnumbered us in all categories by ten to one, they would still be sufficiently deterred if they knew that our retaliation would be deadly to their leadership, their military bases, and their industry. The nuclear hawks, however, have come up with a fanciful scenario to illustrate the precariousness of our position. It is conceivable, they argue, that the Soviets could launch a sneak attack against our entire land-based missile force and destroy some 90 percent of our Minuteman ICBMs. An American president, knowing that the Soviets still had many warheads in reserve, would capitulate rather than hit Soviet cities and risk the destruction of America's cities in return. Indeed, so the argument goes, the mere possibility that this scenario could occur will force the United States to relinquish world leadership to the Kremlin.

The scenario is pure nonsense, yet it supplies the rationale behind the current "modernization" of our strategic forces and for the administration's reluctance to negotiate seriously about arms control. The fact is, no Soviet leader could ever be confident of knocking out 90 percent of our land-based missiles, or anything close to it. For all they know, we might launch our missiles before theirs have time to arrive. The Soviets would also face daunting technical uncertainties: Their missiles have never been tested over a realistic north-south flight path, and thus their planners can only speculate that their corrections for gravitational anomalies and local weather are accurate. (An error of a few hundred feet over a trajectory of several thousand miles can make the difference.) They cannot be sure that their exploding missiles will not in turn destroy other incoming missiles (the problem of "fratricide"). Finally, since only a handful of their missiles are tested fully each year, no one can be sure whether they will launch, fly, and explode exactly as planned. Without certainties in all these areas, it would be madness to risk, or even contemplate, a first strike.

But suppose the Soviets did get lucky. Even by the most pessimistic estimates, some 10 percent of our land-based missiles would survive. That means more than 200 accurate warheads, with an explosive power of more than 50 million tons of TNT, would be left. That's not even counting our invulnerable submarine fleet, which carries more than 4700 warheads, or our bombers, which carry more than 2000 hydrogen bombs. Many of those unprepared bombers and subs could be caught in a first strike, but an American president would still have some 3700 warheads and bombs at his disposal, with a destructive power of about 1200 megatons. The Department of Defense has calculated that the equivalent of 400 one-megaton weapons would destroy 70 percent of Soviet industry and one-third of their population; an American president would have three times that force at his disposal, even after a first strike. Nor would his options be limited to targeting Soviet cities; our warheads are accurate enough to take out their war bases, their dams, and remote industry, transportation facilities, utilities, and mines—in short, all the infrastructure of modern society. As former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara responds to the hawks' scenario: "The argument is without foundation. It's absurd. To try to destroy the 1054 Minutemen, the Soviets would have to plan to ground-burst two nuclear warheads of one megaton each on each site. That is 2000 megatons, roughly 160,000 times the megatonnage of the

Hiroshima bomb. What condition do you think our country would be in when 2000 one-megaton bombs ground-burst? The idea that, in such a situation, we would sit here and say, 'Well, we don't want to launch against them because they might come back and hurt us,' is inconceivable."

The freeze sounds like a good idea, but can we trust the Russians not to cheat? How can we verify its provisions?

The same argument was made against SALT II and earlier arms-control agreements, yet in every case the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA determined that the United States had the "national technical means" to verify Soviet compliance. Spy satellites and sensitive radio monitoring posts near the Soviet border can pick up evidence of Soviet testing and deployment of new missiles. In a recent letter to the *New York Times*, Senator Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) wrote:

It violates no confidence for me to state, as vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, that our verification systems, being restored from losses sustained during the Iranian upheaval, give us high levels of confidence that the Soviets have been in general compliance with SALT I and, so far, with the SALT II agreement as well.

Our technical surveillance might nonetheless not always be adequate for resolving ambiguities. On-site inspection is desirable in such cases, as is a framework for consultation like the Standing Consultative Committee provided for in SALT II. The Soviets, of course, have already signed SALT II; they also seem open to the idea of on-site inspection. In recent talks for a comprehensive test-ban treaty, the Soviets accepted the principle of American inspection if sensor data indicated that a nuclear test had occurred; the Soviets would probably accept the same principle as part of a larger arms-control package.

What nobody has been able to explain is why we would be better off with no arms ceiling and no Soviet concessions at all on verification. A freeze would halt the production, testing, and deployment of weapons; it would thus provide more opportunities for verification even than SALT II, which only controls the deployment of new weapons. Our spy satellites and other technical wizardry would have three stages at which to catch Soviet cheating. Large-scale cheating of the sort that might tip the strategic balance could not possibly go undetected. And the risks to the Soviets of even small-scale cheating would be enormous, nothing less than another all-out arms race against an economically stronger and technologically far more advanced United States.

Why not support the president's proposal for deep cuts in both sides' nuclear arsenals?

President Reagan has proposed that each side reduce the number of its land and submarine-based ballistic warheads by about one-third, to a ceiling of 5000 warheads, and then ultimately cut its total number of ballistic missiles to 850. That number represents about one-half the present U.S. stock and slightly more than one-third of the current level for the Soviets. Such an agreement would mark the first substantial cut in the superpower arsenals since the atomic age began.

Great idea, right? No. For one thing, the Soviets are unlikely to agree to dismantling nearly twice as many missiles as we do, while permitting the United States to forge ahead with the B-1 bomber, more accurate and powerful ICBMs, and cruise missiles (not counted as ballistic missiles under the Reagan proposal). With such terms, the negotiations are sure to drag on for years. "It may take six months to a year to arrange serious negotiations," writes

Leslie Gelb of the *New York Times*. "That would leave about a year for real exchanges before the presidential primaries, not to mention the eventual post-Brezhnev transition in the Kremlin. That is precious little time, considering that SALT I took three years and SALT II seven years to consummate."

So why not just ratify SALT II in the interim—since Reagan says he will abide by it anyway?

A growing number of prominent newspapers, arms controllers, and members of Congress are proposing just that. "I have great difficulty in understanding why it is safe to adhere to a nonratified agreement [SALT II], while it is unsafe formally to ratify what one is already observing," Henry Kissinger has commented. But Reagan staked out his anti-SALT position in the campaign and he is sticking to it. "We consider SALT II to be dead," General Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "and we have so informed the Soviet Union."

SALT II was an imperfect agreement in any case; President Reagan was not too far off the mark when he once said, "It simply legitimizes an arms race." Although SALT II would be better than nothing, unlike the freeze it would permit Soviet weapons growth in a host of areas: in the Backfire and newer generations of intercontinental bombers; the addition of warheads to existing ICBMs; the deployment of the Typhoon class nuclear submarine and new sub-launched missiles; the cruise missile; and further deployment of the SS-20, SS-21, and SS-22 intermediate range and tactical missiles. SALT II would permit similar expansion of American programs.

Only a nuclear freeze would turn off the real engine of the arms race: the development of new and ever more awesome weapons beyond mere additions to the stocks on hand. Neither SALT II nor Reagan's START proposal would prevent the technological arms race. And neither, therefore, would prevent the expenditure of hundreds of billions of dollars over the next few years for unneeded and potentially destabilizing systems like the MX, cruise, and Trident II missiles.

The Soviets, fortunately, have already embraced the idea of a freeze, although many details would have to be worked out. "We would be prepared to reach agreement that the strategic arms of the USSR and the United States be frozen immediately, as soon as the talks begin, that they be frozen quantitatively and that their modernization be limited to the utmost," Brezhnev announced in May. "... Such a freeze, an important thing in itself, would facilitate both progress and a radical limitation and reduction of strategic arms." Brezhnev might not mean what he says, of course. But President Reagan can test his sincerity easily enough, just by embracing the freeze himself.

A nuclear freeze won't be easy to sell in Washington, however. It would at last undermine the hawks who claim that only a drive toward newer and better weapons can keep us "secure." Their logic has been tried and found wanting, even catastrophic. During the negotiation of the SALT I accords, Henry Kissinger exempted multiple-warhead missiles from controls on grounds that the United States could use its substantial lead as a bargaining chip. Contrary to plan, the Soviets soon went ahead with their own MIRVs and caught up with us—contributing to the current fears for the safety of our land-based forces. The arms race has made us feel less secure, not more so. The American people, with right and logic on their side, are demanding a change. It's time their representatives started to act. ■

When seeking work is a crime . . .

Invasion of the body snatchers

During the last week of April several businesses, in southern California and elsewhere, suffered a higher degree of absenteeism than usual. It wasn't spring fever or the flu bug. The disease afflicting many workers was one of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's well publicized, sporadic bursts of conspicuous enforcement. During a week in which a dozen or so firms were invaded by INS agents who questioned Hispanic-looking employees, perhaps 800 illegal aliens in California and 3000 nationwide were shipped to Mexico.

Few even bother to pretend that the effort put a dent in the illegal alien "problem." There may be 3.5 million illegal aliens in the United States now, or there may be as many as 6 million. Each year at least 500,000 more (perhaps as many as 1.5 million) arrive.

The "crime" these people are committing is seeking honest work and having sense enough to go where their chances of finding it are better than in their home countries. The antiquated laws that turn this impulse into a crime make the search more difficult, more fraught with uncertainty and peril than it might otherwise be, but most authorities agree that, short of instituting elements resembling a police state, there is little hope of stemming the flow.

There are those, however, to whom "police state" apparently doesn't sound so bad. Senator Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) and Representative Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.) recently put forward a frightening and unworkable proposal that would make it a crime, punishable by stiff fines or even imprisonment, for employers to "knowingly" hire illegal aliens. Simpson-Mazzoli would also require the Justice Department to devise a "forgery-proof" national worker ID system within three years. They would offer a form of "amnesty" to illegal aliens already resident in this country that is somewhat more liberal than a similar proposal offered last fall by the Reagan administration, while placing an annual cap of 425,000 on all categories of legal immigrants in the future.

The ID card idea offers the most piquant illustration of how unrealistic is the notion of tighter legal controls on immigrants. The Reagan administration itself previously rejected the idea after determining that the development cost of such a system could be \$2 billion and that even after spending all that money there was little likelihood of having a really forgery-proof system.

Simpson and Mazzoli say the ID card is "essential" to the

success of their proposal—and they're probably right. But if an essential feature of a proposal is not only disturbing, dictatorial, and dangerous, but demonstrably unfeasible, it should be sent back to legislative fantasyland as quickly as possible.

The best solution to the real and mythical problems associated with present immigration policy is to reclaim the American heritage of civil liberties by repealing our unworkable immigration laws and opening our borders.

The open secret most legislators (even those who want tighter restrictions) won't admit is that the current flow of immigration, both legal and illegal, is largely beneficial for all concerned. Workers wouldn't make the uncertain journey if they didn't think they stood to benefit. Most employers hire illegal aliens simply because they do jobs for which it is difficult to find other workers, either because other workers demand higher salaries, or because other workers literally refuse to do the work. If the federal government could wave a magic wand, stop the flow of illegals and expel those who are here, it would not be unreasonable to expect significant economic dislocations in such areas as Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Chicago, much of Texas, and anywhere else that businesses and consumers now benefit because some people choose to take low-paying jobs.

But aren't illegal aliens exploited in sweatshops? Undoubtedly some are—but this is precisely because the present web of restrictions and penalties discourages mobility and the free flow of labor on the open market.

A look back into the history of U.S. immigration policy should be sufficient to question the motives of many who advocate sealing the borders. The United States managed to survive without any restrictive immigration laws whatsoever until as late as 1882, when the ominously named Chinese Exclusion Law was passed. (It was not repealed until 1943.) The Immigration Act of 1917 followed. The real purposes of these laws were barely concealed, as indicated in a letter from William B. Wilson, secretary of commerce and labor under President Woodrow Wilson, who wrote:

From many sources we were being pressed to encourage the migration of Filipinos, Hawaiians, and other labor of similar character, and to secure the suspension of the Chinese Exclusion Law so that Chinese might be admitted . . . to supply the deficit of farm labor alleged to exist on the Pacific Coast and along the Mexican border. Of course, we could not yield to importunities of that kind. We have all the race problems in the United States that it is advisable for us to undertake to deal with at the present time.

The pressures to relax immigration restrictions were the same then as they are now: market forces. Government policies and their enforcement, then as now, were consciously antimarket, and discriminatory in effect. It is as though the inscription at the base of the Statue of Liberty was meant to read: "Give us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses . . . so long as they aren't brown or yellow, they don't talk funny, and they don't work for less than what we say is fair."

But of course the inscription wasn't meant to say that at all. Immigration should not be viewed as a "problem" to be deplored, but as a tribute to a society that remains sufficiently free and prosperous to attract people from all over the world who hope for a better future. One hundred years of restrictions couldn't keep them away, and neither can elaborate systems of raids, penalties, border patrols, and ID cards. We hope they never will. ■

SHORT TAKES . . .

Underwriting war

■ THERE IS SOMETHING VERY

strange, to say the least, about a foreign policy that comes down with all four feet on one act of aggression (Argentina in the Falklands), but treats another such act (Israel in Lebanon) as though it were a summer block-party that got a little rowdy. Argentina, unjustified though its invasion was, hasn't bombed civilians or reduced population centers to rubble. Israel has, and it has used billions of U.S. tax dollars in aid, loans, and weapons to pursue an increasingly militaristic policy embarrassing to anyone whose hierarchy of values includes peace. Whatever claims of self-defense Israel had in crossing the Lebanese border lost their validity as its troops marched on Beirut and created hundreds of thousands of new refugees.

Israel's ultimate political purpose is clear: to install a friendly government in Lebanon and to induce the United States to become an accomplice by taking part in a "peace-keeping" force to secure the southern territory. But as the *Washington Post* said about this purpose, "If the Israelis have gone into Lebanon in the hope that Washington will pull their chestnuts out of the fire, or in the hope that circumstances will leave Washington no alternative, illusion and deception have replaced the sense of reality and trust that ought to be guiding U.S.-Israeli relations." Let there be no further illusions about Israel's aggressive role in the continuing hostilities in the Middle East. And let there be no illusion that the United States government can be a force for peace and justice so long as it supports and underwrites war, in the Middle East, in the Falklands, or anywhere else.

■ 'TIS THE SEASON WHEN NETWORK

programmers cancel shows to make room in their fall line-ups for new programs, and, thanks to the radio programmers in Congress, our least favorite show—Radio Marti—has been axed. As we reported [Dec. 7 & 21, 1981], Wolfman Reagan was going to spend \$17 million to build and run a powerful AM station, Radio Marti, to beam the World According to Ron over Fidel's head to the Cuban people. But the administration underestimated the cunning of the man the CIA couldn't kill. Señor Castro announced plans to counter with his own AM superstation to blanket us with Radio Free *Norteamericano*. For a short while it looked like a ratings-and-wattage battle royal was going to be waged, but then our commercial broadcasters piped in with their worries that the Cuban station would cause interference for our domestic broadcasts. The House Telecommunications Subcommittee decided on radio détente and voted in late May to ban Radio Marti from the AM band. Radio Marti is cancelled for now, but word is out that it is looking for a slot next season on the shortwave band. We'll keep you informed. ■

Someone must have been awake

Dianne Klein's article, "Uncivil Servants," [March 15] does a distinct disservice to the cause of libertarianism. The logical conclusion to be drawn from the article is that the federal bureaucracy is populated with incompetents, derelicts, or worse. If such be the case, who are the people in Washington that are responsible for the excess of government of which libertarians complain? Someone must have been awake and on the job at the Justice Department in order to harass IBM for over twelve years with an anti-trust case of very dubious merit. Down the street at the Federal Trade Commission some of the staff must have been sufficiently sober and alert in order to pursue the cereal companies on the basis of an economic theory that is not even in the textbooks. Everyone could not have been derelict in their duties at OSHA in order to promulgate regulations concerning potties in the fields.

The truth is that there is an enormous amount of competence and conscientiousness in Washington, the civil-service system notwithstanding. The attack on bureaucratic sloth helps only to perpetuate a dangerous myth regarding bureaucratic incompetence that seems only to deflect attention from the central issues of the appropriate role of government.

David L. Shapiro
Visiting Professor of Economics
San Jose State University
San Jose, Calif.

Childs confesses

Roy A. Childs, Jr.'s, review of *The New Right Papers* [June] contains a quotation from my essay that he mistakenly attributes to the editor, Robert Whitaker. The long quotation reproduced on page 31, first column, concerning the development, values, and interests of the current liberal elite is not from Mr. Whitaker but is found in my essay, "Message from MARs," on pages 68 and 69 of *The New Right Papers*.

Samuel T. Francis
Washington, D.C.

CHILDS replies: I must confess my guilt. Mr. Francis is correct.

Letters

A candle for the Philippines, too

Your editorial on El Salvador, "A candle for El Salvador," [March 29] reminded me painfully of the situation in my homeland, the Philippines. I had similar thoughts as the El Salvadoran Catholic Church official did when Reagan lamented the Polish martial-law deaths: Why the hell does he then continue to send massive



military and foreign aid to the Philippines, itself under martial law in everything but name now, and under martial law *in fact* from 1972 until recently?

The unfortunate thing is that the people of such oppressed countries are beginning to equate communist totalitarianism with American totalitarianism (as in, "you do it our way or else..."). And yet, despite its overwhelmingly misguided government, America is still a land of freedom and opportunity. How long will the distinction hold out?

Christine M. Dorffi
Menlo Park, Calif.

Stephen Harvey, neoconservative?

In his review of the Costa-Gavras film *Missing* [April 12] Stephen Harvey makes remarks which would be more appropriate if found in a magazine like *Commentary* than in a journal supposedly devoted to maximizing human freedom. Commenting on Costa-Gavras's negative portrayal of the military coup which overthrew the Allende government in Chile, Mr. Harvey writes: "...the regime being crushed before our eyes by cold military might just happened to be Marxist." He also mentions that "...the real Horman was an avowed leftist...." Doesn't Mr. Harvey believe that even Marxist regimes just might have a certain right not to be overthrown by brutal military dictatorships? And this is especially so when the Marxist regime in question was democratically elected by its people? And that, furthermore, even avowed leftists just might have a right not to be arbitrarily arrested, tortured, and murdered? It's a strange libertarianism indeed that denies basic human rights to those whose views are left of center. I might expect to find such sophistries as Mr. Harvey's expounded by Norman Podhoretz; I don't expect them in the pages of *INQUIRY*.

George Fish
Indianapolis, Ind.

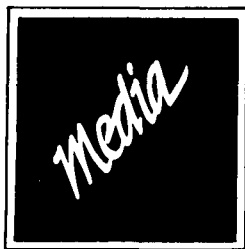
Some kind words

Nat Hentoff's "Celebrity Censorship" [June] is certainly one of the most lucid and well-written pieces of writing I've seen of late. The information it contained, the logic of its presentation, and the tone of the language, make "Celebrity Censorship" a model of what a good short article should be.

More of the same, please.

David Perkins
Editor, Chouteau Review
Kansas City, Mo.

Letters to the editor should be addressed to *INQUIRY*, 1320 G Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for length when necessary.



Making waves at the FCC

MILTON MUELLER

FORMER FEDERAL Communications Commissioner Robert E. Lee relishes telling his version of his first meeting with the present chairman of the FCC, Mark Fowler. "The first time I laid eyes on him," Lee says, "I wondered who the young man with the mellifluous voice was, so I asked him his name. He said, 'Let the marketplace decide.'" Fowler, a former broadcast-industry lawyer and Reagan campaign communications expert, has just finished his first year as FCC chairman, a remarkably consistent effort at letting the marketplace decide that has enraged both liberals and conservatives. He has launched an era of "unregulation" (a word of his own invention) to clear away the underbrush of five and a half decades of gathered rules and regulations. Fowler has taken steps to strike down the barriers that prevent telecommunications firms from entering new fields and preclude ownership of more than a set number of broadcast stations. He has also started a campaign to get Congress to repeal both the "equal-time" rule, which obliges stations to give minor political candidates air time if major candidates appear, and the "fairness doctrine," which holds that broadcasters must air important issues and make certain that opposing views are heard. Fowler has seized almost every opportunity to trumpet his philosophy: "The marketplace is the means by which people should be able to directly make their choices as to what they want to see and hear, rather than government sitting here as the federal program director attempting to make those choices."

As a result of his activism he has become the James Watt of the airwaves to liberals, out to turn the "pub-

licly owned" airwaves over to greedy private interests. Says Andrew Jay Schwartzman, director of the Media Access Project: "It's official now. The FCC has become the lobbying arm of the broadcast industry." Les Brown, former television writer for the *New York Times* and now editor of the new bimonthly *Channels*, has denounced Fowler as a "regulatory nihilist in control of an agency that is supposed to look after the public's stake in electronic communications, an ideologue who believes free markets are the answer to everything." In mid-April the conservative columnist Patrick Buchanan attacked Fowler with equal vociferousness. According to Buchanan, Fowler is "preparing to unleash the national networks from all requirements of fairness and balance in news and commentary, to dismantle entirely the modest pollution control equipment that keeps the rawest sewage of the permissive society out of your living room." Unlike most apologists for equal time, Buchanan makes no bones about its partisan political purpose: "If Bill Moyers of CBS informs his evening news audience that the good guys in Central America are the left-wingers the United States always opposes, it is not censorship of Moyers to require CBS also to air the administration point of view."

Fowler's ability to draw flak from left and right alike stems from his steadfast conviction that the same First Amendment protections for the press should apply to telecommunications as well. Fowler believes that the FCC "too often has violated the spirit if not the letter" of the First Amendment. Conservatives invoke "morality" and "political balance" in their quest to control the electronic media. Liberals make the far more sophisticated—and more dangerous—claim that the content and technology of telecommunications must be regulated in the name of a disembodied "public" and its undefinable "interests." Les Brown declares that broadcasters' "obligation to serve in

the public interest comes from their use of the public's airwaves—the air that belongs to all of the people, because it is the air we breathe." Fowler's disregard for the fifty-five-year-old regulatory scheme founded on the principle that the airwaves be operated "in the public interest" comes, Brown says, from "the arrogance of ignorance." (Speaking of ignorance, someone should tip Brown off to the fact that radio waves aren't dependent on "the air we breathe," but can travel through the vacuum of outer space.)

The spectrum-scarcity argument—the idea that because there are a limited number of frequencies suitable for broadcast the FCC should hold the airwaves in trust for the public—holds less water today than it ever has. (In nature all things are scarce—airwaves, iron ore, and timber. Yet no one uses the scarcity argument to justify the notion that the government should determine who shall turn iron ore into steel or timber into newspapers.) As Fowler puts it, the trusteeship model is not valid in a day when in New York City and the most rural areas "the number of broadcast voices exceeds the number of newspapers." "I think the whole business of the airwaves belonging to the public is really almost irrelevant," Fowler has said. "I would have... [allocated the airwaves] differently. I would have sold the frequencies off to broadcasters. It would have been like a private right."

While both liberals and conservatives have disguised their quest for control of the electronic media with appeals for "balance" and "fairness," recent moves by the conservative Reagan administration have revealed Reagan's dedication to the free market to be so much campaign bluster, leaving Fowler one of the few free-market/First Amendment radicals left inside the Reagan orbit. Case in point: A week after Buchanan's column on Fowler, CBS News aired "People Like Us," a documentary narrated by—you guessed it—Bill Moyers, that looked at the effect the recession and the cutback in government services were having on some people. When David Gergen, assistant to the president for communications, caught wind of the documentary, he asked to receive a tape of the program before its airing and for broadcast time to respond to the documentary's charges, explaining, "I believe the last time I looked there was such a thing as the fairness doctrine." Gergen's brow-

MILTON MUELLER is working on a book about the impact new telecommunications technology will have on society.

beating of CBS was not uncharacteristic of his efforts to manipulate the media on behalf of the president, who can call all of the television networks to the Oval Office on a moment's notice. Listen to Gergen smacking his lips in the *Washington Journalism Review*: "I would be absolutely delighted if we had an administration spokesman on *MacNeil/Lehrer* every single night, and if we had somebody on the morning shows every single morning." Fowler, on the other hand, really believes in all his own rhetoric about disengaging the government from broadcasting and doing away with the equal-time and fairness doctrines, which have discouraged broadcasters from tackling sensitive issues. "If they [broadcasters] can't find someone to pay for the contrasting viewpoint, they must give the time away in order to balance," Fowler says. "So if somebody wants to buy a half hour to present, let's say, a conservative viewpoint, many television stations, fearful that they can't sell the opposing side, will deny the initial request. Viewers and listeners lose because an issue has not been ventilated."

THE CURRENT ROUND OF deregulation began with Nixon's FCC chairman, Richard Wiley, and Carter's chairman, Charles Ferris. But Fowler has outdone both Wiley and Ferris in deregulatory fervor. Fowler has done his best to implement his philosophy of letting market forces, rather than restrictive FCC decisions, govern the future of telecommunications—though he has stumbled a couple of times. His vote to retain 10-kilohertz spacing between AM radio stations protects existing broadcasters from the potential competition of the 1000 new radio stations that tighter spacing (9 kilohertz between stations) would have created. And Fowler has also treated the subject of cable TV regulation gingerly, stating that local government should resolve cable issues.

But by and large, Fowler has served the forces of competition. Besides leading the FCC's request for Congress to repeal equal-time and the fairness doctrine, Fowler has been instrumental in carrying through Charles Ferris's Low Power Television initiative. LPTV is designed to reach receivers inside a five-to-fifteen-mile radius, by using frequencies the overly rigid frequency-allocation plan

adopted by the FCC in the late forties and early fifties kept off the market. Against the established broadcasters' opposition the Fowler FCC is going ahead with the licensing of thousands of new low-power stations—heady competition for established broadcasters. Fowler also proved his *laissez-faire* mettle when he cast the lone dissenting vote against restrictions on the sale and transfer of LPTV stations.

Fowler really believes his own rhetoric about getting government out of broadcasting.

Under Fowler the FCC is expected to approve another new revolutionary technology that will further heat up broadcast competition: Direct Broadcast Satellite television. DBS stations, broadcasting from earth orbit, could add up to as many as thirty new, nationwide television channels. A new television network based on DBS is already in the works. When asked how the FCC would protect established broadcasters from DBS competition, Fowler's hand-picked Broadcast Bureau chief, Larry Harris, replied: It won't. Harris chided broadcasters for seeking deregulation and protection at the same time. "You can't have your cake and eat it, too," he warned.

The Fowler FCC has even moved away from its heretofore unchallenged role as technical standard setter. Despite strong pressure from the National Association of Broadcasters and radio networks such as CBS, the FCC has refused to impose a monopoly standard for AM stereo [see "Playing monopoly at the FCC," *INQUIRY*, Dec. 29, 1980] and teletext. The FCC has let it be known that communications firms will have to rely on competitive marketing and efficiency, not the FCC, to set the standards.

The FCC's recent allocation of frequencies for cellular radio once again reveals Fowler's consistency. Cellular radio is an alternative telephone system based on radio transmission instead of the traditional wire and pole configuration. Fowler voted for cellu-

lar radio, but against the decision that reserved half of all cellular radio frequencies for the local telephone companies. Fowler argued that such a generous allocation only reinforced the government-granted phone monopolies, and he described the decision as "anticompetitive." Since the antitrust settlement splitting up AT&T was announced, there has been much talk about the inevitability of doubling or even tripling local phone rates. Though the initial cellular phone systems will be marketed as mobile phones, there is no reason why cellular phones could not be installed in homes and give the wire and pole systems their first serious competition since the government granted them legal monopoly status seven decades ago—and keep prices down. Given the new technology, there could be as many telephone systems in a city as there are radio channels—potentially a myriad.

THE ESTABLISHED BROADCASTERS, networks, and telecom firms have traditionally had a symbiotic relationship with the FCC—what they gave up in control over their industry, they earned back in shelter from competition. When cable television rose as a potential competitor to over-the-air broadcasters, the FCC reined it in. But Fowler intends to break up the cozy relationship. With the old order giving way, some firms look upon Fowler-style deregulation with trepidation. Trade journal *Television/Radio Age* cites a network vice-president on Fowler: "It's not that we don't love him for what he's doing. But does he know when to stop?" Echoes *Broadcasting*: Fowler is "making some [industry] people nervous." The industry's ambivalence can be summed up in the words of *Television/Radio Age*: "On the one side are all the moves taken by the Commission in recent months to unshackle the broadcaster. On the other is the FCC's open door policy for competitive systems." The introduction of competition, which is the flip side of deregulation, and Fowler's eagerness to authorize new technologies that could change the face of telecommunications have given notice to the industry that the days of security are past.

Today Fowler is the odd bureaucrat in Washington whose every act seems to be designed to cut back his agency's power and lessen his own influence.

But the true test of Mark Fowler and his free-market rhetoric is yet to come. As the new technologies he has authorized—LPTV, DBS, and cellular radio—come on line, telecommunications companies will bump heads in competition as never before. There is a strong parallel between Fowler's "unregulation" and the current wave of airline deregulation, which is reordering that industry. As new competitors enter previously protected markets, there is bound to be a shakeout of those firms that miscalculate the needs and desires of consumers. It is likely that a few "Braniffs" of telecommunications will bite the dust and plead with the FCC for some sort of bailout. If and when they do, Fowler will get his big chance to live up to the pledge he made to a convention of broadcasters last fall. "You are not my flock," he said, "and I am not your shepherd." ■

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Howard Baker delivers the pork

ALAN CRAWFORD

WHEN THE REAGANITES took the reins of power in January 1981, the future of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, a \$3.2 billion plutonium-generating facility planned for Oak Ridge, Tennessee, was uncertain indeed. Reagan himself had little interest in it, no more, really, than his predecessor Jimmy Carter, who had tried to kill it. Budget director David Stockman, though no foe of nuclear power itself, had been the project's most vociferous critic in the House. Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), a nuclear-power critic who had voted against the reactor on more than one occasion, was the new Appropriations Committee chairman, and a new crop of budget-conscious members of Congress, Democrats as well as Republicans, viewed the project skeptically.

But the Clinch River Breeder Reactor had one champion who couldn't be ignored or resisted: Howard Baker of Tennessee, the new Senate majority leader. Over Stockman's objections, Baker convinced the president to leave \$254 million for it in the budget that went to Congress.

Opposition had never been stronger—freshmen House members had voted thirty-six to thirty-four against the reactor. But Baker persuaded fourteen of the eighteen new senators to back it, and won fifty to forty-five, after convincing Roger Jepsen, an Iowa Republican, and Richard Lugar, an Indiana Republican, to switch their votes. He even had Vice President George Bush on hand to save the project in case of a tie.

"It just wasn't worth fighting," Stockman told William Greider in the *Atlantic Monthly* interviews. "This [economic] package will go nowhere without Baker, and Clinch River is

just life or death to Baker." Baker got his way, he helped guide the Reagan budget through the Congress, and the Republicans, Stockman excluded, were jubilant.

These are heady days for Howard Baker, who, the *National Journal's* Richard Cohen has written, "has maintained a measure of influence nearly unprecedented for a congressional party leader." *U.S. News and World Report* hails him as "the most respected senator," and his own colleagues are unrestrained in their praise. California Democrat Alan Cranston calls Baker "remarkably effective" as majority leader, and North Carolina Republican John East has "nothing but the highest praise" for him. Wyoming Republican Alan K. Simpson calls him the "glue and grease" that keeps the legislative machine in good working order, a judgment shared even by the persnickety *Washington Monthly*, which put Baker at the top of its list of the best senators, calling him "by all accounts the shrewdest, most effective boss this body has seen since Lyndon Johnson in the 1950s."

If anything, Baker's national reputation has only been enhanced by the outrage he has brought on himself by resisting new-right efforts to cram fundamentalist Christian prayers down the throats of school children and spend federal dollars to promote teenage chastity. However commendable, this resistance can also be seen as politically savvy, for it leaves Baker in the enviable position of having as his only critics professional right-wingers like John D. Lofton, Jr., Richard Viguerie's hired gun and editor of *Conservative Digest*. It was Lofton who accused Baker of trying "to dump the social issue agenda," an aim that stirred up a "hornet's nest among grassroots new-right conservatives." The stings came in the form of a truly memorable broadside denouncing Baker that was signed by Moral Majoritarians, Conservative Caucuses, antiabortionists, and Christian Voicers.

ALAN CRAWFORD, a Washington writer, is the author of *Thunder on the Right: The "New Right" and the Politics of Resentment*.

But a look at Baker's record shows that you don't have to be a dues-paying, card-carrying member of the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Faith Partner Gospel Club to find Bakermania a bit hard to stomach, especially since we may have yet another Baker winning friends and influencing people in the Congress. Baker's twenty-seven-year-old daughter Cissy is now seeking the Republican nomination from Tennessee's fourth district. Baker *père* isn't the first of the clan to go to Washington, either. Baker's father and stepmother both served in Congress, and Baker himself, elected to the Senate in 1966, married Ev Dirksen's daughter. Cissy would make it three generations.

ONE IS ENOUGH, GIVEN this man's power and the uses to which he puts it. Consider what he saved by rescuing the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. This boondoggle, described by one critic as a "CETA program for nuclear engineers," has already gobbled up \$1 billion in taxpayers' money, even though ground hasn't even been broken. It is ultimately a "\$20 billion program that is \$20 billion worth of pork," in the words of an aide to Congressman John Dingell, a Michigan Democrat, whose House Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee investigated the Clinch River project.

When Congress first authorized it in 1970, supporters said it would cost only \$700 million, but even that would have been no bargain. The demand for nuclear power, after all, has plummeted dramatically, while estimates of uranium availability have also dropped. The Clinch River Breeder Reactor may indeed be able to generate electricity—but not until 1990, eleven years behind schedule, and at a cost so enormous that the government will have to sell the electricity at a loss, and subsidize the plant indefinitely or shut it down.

The Dingell investigation found the project to be a managerial farce, characterized by "unbelievably loose" contracts, which led, in the words of the *Federal Times*, to "apparent ripoffs, swindles, and bribe-taking by contractor employees." But even participants question its worth. Burns and Rowe, the chief architects, admitted in an internal memo in 1973 that "most actions on the project are out of our control, and it is clear that the project

results will be extremely poor."

Baker, through it all, remains enthusiastic, saying Clinch River "has nothing to do with pork. I think it is manifestly a different sort of program. It is an essential, keystone part of our energy program and our energy future, and it should be built."

Clinch River is hardly the only such case. The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway has been kept alive, according to one environmental lobbyist who has fought the project, "by the aura of Baker. He doesn't even have to twist arms on this one. Just the fact that he is for it is enough to keep it alive." Tenn-Tom, singled out by the National Taxpayers Union as "one of the most wasteful federal projects" in history, is the federal government's attempt to clone the Mississippi River by cutting a colossal ditch from the Tennessee River to the Gulf of Mexico. When first authorized by Con-

should be intense, "to make it possible to discover new fossil fuels in our own territory and to develop alternative sources in the years ahead. Pilot projects for such development, combined with a windfall tax that will put those profits back into energy, research, and development, are among the first steps on the road ahead."

Under Baker's plan, the government not only finances these ventures, it "tests them, spins the viable possibilities off to the private sector, and maintains supervision over small installations that will measure cost effectiveness against the new energy supplied by private industry." Baker also believes that "government commitment to research and development" must be stepped up, "in order to update technology and modernize our capital stock."

This corporate conservative's enthusiasm for TVA was declared, oddly

Baker doesn't have to twist arms. Just the fact that he's for a project is enough to keep it alive.

gress in 1946, Tenn-Tom would cost \$120 million, the Army Corps of Engineers said. But by the time ground was broken twenty-five years later (it took that long for Congress to be sufficiently convinced of the project's merits to appropriate any money), cost estimates had shot up to \$465 million. Three years later the corps said it would cost \$815 million, though the *New York Times* reports that even while quoting that figure the corps knew it would cost at least \$1 billion, perhaps as much as \$1.4 billion. [See *INQUIRY*, May 14, 1979, for a complete analysis of the Tenn-Tom boondoggle.]

BAKER'S ZEAL FOR costly federal projects perhaps reaches its zenith with the Tennessee Valley Authority. He is not merely tolerant of the TVA, as one might reasonably expect a conservative Republican to be. An enthusiastic supporter, he wrote in his 1980 book, *No Margin for Error*, that the TVA "provides a model for many of our future energy projects." Indeed, Baker believes the government role in the development of energy sources

enough, at a time when rate hikes to the 2.8 million households whose electricity it supplies have made it "the most hated institution in Tennessee," as one TVA official put it. According to S. David Freeman, TVA chairman and a Carter appointee, the authority can no longer function as a supplier of cheap power, the "availability of energy in the eighties" becoming "as important as the low price of energy in the thirties and forties." With that in mind, Carter administration officials pushed the TVA into the development of all forms of energy—solar, nuclear, and synfuels—and even work on an electric car. In the process, the TVA became a "mini-Department of Energy," says Robert L. Sansom, a Washington energy consultant and Knoxville native who wrote the Reagan administration's transition report on the TVA.

Flood control no longer occupies much of its time. Its plants burn so much high-sulfur coal that it has become the region's worst polluter, and has had to accept a negotiated settlement with the Environmental Protection Agency, with consumers paying over \$1 billion in clean-up costs.

The TVA has also become the backbone of the nuclear-energy industry, though its pledge to construct seventeen nuclear plants has been reduced under the Reaganites to ten.

This is an agency about as shielded from public scrutiny as the CIA. Its wholesale rates are set without public hearing and without judicial review, its board exercising control over a \$5.2 billion power-production budget. There are no clear rules regarding the letting of bids for its projects. It receives preferred rates for borrowing money, and pays no state or federal taxes. And though it was created to encourage development of the once-depressed Tennessee Valley, its rapidly rising utility rates, Sansom found, now work to deter industries from locating there.

But the bad news about the TVA gets even worse with mention of the Murphy Hill synthetic-fuels plant, a TVA project planned for a 500-acre area of Alabama forest and farmland, to turn 20,000 tons of coal a day into synthetic gas.

The Murphy Hill project, which carries a \$3.5 billion price tag, was dreamed up by TVA officials in response to a Carter plea that new ways be found to burn eastern coal. It was fraught with difficulties from the start: There is no known customer for the gas Murphy Hill is supposed to produce. There isn't even a pipeline to deliver the gas to the customers, if the TVA could find any. Carter tried to kill it, and so did Reagan, but this project, like all the others, has its own constituency. Congressman Tom Bevill, an Alabama Democrat, has been its chief supporter on Capitol Hill, and his support only increased when the TVA selected his own district as the plant's site in 1980. Though the administration did not choose to include Murphy Hill among the synfuels plants it would try to save, Bevill persuaded the White House to include \$95 million in the budget, with the condition that the project find private-sector sources of funds. It hasn't been able to find any.

Howard Baker's position on Murphy Hill? "I don't think he's ever really had a position on it," an aide to the senator said. "He usually just goes along with what TVA wants in the budget. He thinks it's a TVA decision." But according to a well-placed Capitol Hill energy specialist, Baker would not oppose this project because he cannot afford to cross Bevill: "Look, Bevill is chairman of the House

Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development. Every TVA and Army Corps project has to go to Bevill, and Bevill can kill anything that Baker wants to keep, so Baker isn't about to oppose this project, because it means so much to Tom Bevill."

To sum up, the TVA is a classic case of government hubris, its empire spreading, its costs mounting, and its willing customers dwindling. It is hardly "a model for our future energy projects," as Baker would have it.

BAKER'S ENTHUSIASM for home-state boondoggles might well cause cynics to suspect wrongdoing, and cynics have, but with little foundation in fact. While Baker has always been willing, even eager, to go to bat for the friends back home, there's no evidence he has ever paid off the ump. Negotiating with the opposing pitchers, he would say, is just part of the game.

Most frequently questioned are Baker's involvements with the Knoxville-based Stearns Coal and Lumber Company. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Baker, then a Tennessee attorney, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the federal government to allow his client to strip-mine its holdings under land Stearns had sold, while retaining the mineral rights, to the U.S. Forest Service in the 1930s.

Elected to the Senate, his campaign bankrolled in part by company executives, Baker sponsored a bill in 1974 creating the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area, which included much land in Kentucky to which the company held mineral rights and land in Tennessee that Stearns couldn't sell. Three years ago Baker pushed through the Senate a \$16.5 million appropriation, as compensation for Stearns's land and mineral rights—legislation that profited the company immensely. Before Baker's bill became law, Stearns's total assets were about \$3 million. Its mining and lumbering operations had ceased, and executives were trying to sell out. After the government bought the land, the assets jumped to \$20.4 million.

Noting the proximity of Baker's own land holdings to the planned recreational area, the United Mine Workers in 1974 charged that the senator would himself stand to gain from the area's development. The

miners also charged that coal from Baker's own land was being sold to the TVA, an apparent violation, they said, of federal law. These allegations were complicated by Baker's legislative attempts to relax Clean Air Act standards for area power plants, again to the benefit of home-state interests to which he had been linked.

The *Washington Post*, in its investigation of the Stearns Coal and Lumber business, concluded that although Baker's professional interests in the company during his early years in the Senate are still unclear, "there is no indication that Baker violated any laws or profited financially himself." Not even his record of campaign contributions shows much of a link to the interests for which he has worked so hard—and that isn't because he's taking pains to hide such a link.

To draw that kind of conclusion is to miss the point about Baker, and ultimately about politicians like him, for there are probably a good many of his ilk. Baker isn't crooked or even devious. He does this kind of work for free, readily in fact, apparently serene in the belief that what is good for the back-slapping, glad-handing fellows on the home-town golf course is good for America. He's a character out of Sinclair Lewis, not Theodore Dreiser, and he just wants to help. A master technician, he doesn't even ask vexing questions, it appears. He just does his job, amiably, smoothly, good naturedly—a "pro's pro," as one of his close friends describes him.

You get a sense of what Baker thinks he should be doing from his call, in *No Margin for Error*, for "new institutions" in government to make things go more smoothly still, a "federal magistrate," whose "principal responsibility would be to facilitate the business of [his] neighbors with government." This folksy fellow, like Baker, would be a "problem solver," and "advocate of the interests of the citizen doing business with his government." He wouldn't be a distant bureaucrat or a highfalutin statesman, though he would know "how to work inside the system" and even enjoy "some limited power to stay a regulation's effect for a short time." Holders of this office, instead, would more closely resemble "rural mail carriers."

That's our Howard, all right—a "rural mail carrier." He doesn't read the mail, for gosh sakes, and he doesn't question what is in those plain brown wrappers. He just delivers. ■

Putting World War III on Ice

by Peter Pringle

The nuclear freeze
movement takes off

NO ONE SHOULD HAVE BEEN SUR-
prised when eighty-two-year-old Admiral Hy-
man Rickover, the outstanding, and unblink-
ing, devotee of the nuclear submarine, offered
his services in retirement to the cause of dis-
armament. The way he did it, saying, "Put me in charge,
I'll get some results . . . [unless we disarm] we'll probably de-
stroy ourselves," was perhaps distasteful, but such touch-
ing displays of remorse after long affairs with the atom are
nothing new in the nuclear age. Several of the Manhattan
Project scientists, who worked on the world's first atom
bomb, had similar twinges of regret. And David Lilienthal,
the first chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,
became a passionate advocate of curtailing nuclear power.
More recently Robert McNamara, who as secretary of
defense in the early 1960s presided over the largest-ever
expansion of America's nuclear arsenal, joined three other
former national-security officials in a call for NATO to re-
nounce first use of nuclear weapons in Europe.

The difference between the born-again nuclear soldiers
of yesteryear and today is that now they have mass popular
sentiment behind them. Their remorse is no longer
merely the confession of an old warrior

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Barons (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).*



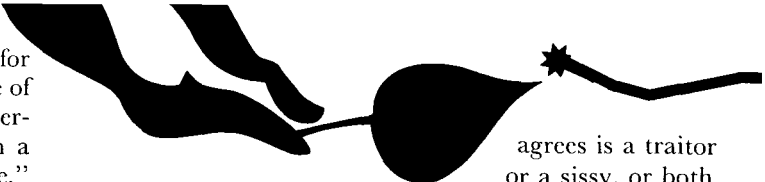
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about to die. They are part of a citizens' movement that for the first time in nuclear history seems to have a chance of forcing the superpowers to end the arms race. The American anti-nuclear-weapons movement has grown with a speed that has surprised even the organizers. "The freeze," as it is known because its advocates want to freeze the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons, has emerged from obscurity in the last six months to force politicians, scientists, arms controllers, and, finally, the Reagan administration, to take account of it. It is widespread and, unlike so many American political fads, appears durable. Throughout the rest of this year a series of demonstrations are planned in order to keep up pressure on the administration as it finally gets down to strategic-arms talks with the Soviet Union.

The question is whether these talks can outpace and outmaneuver the freeze movement. Or will that movement still be a major force in the November elections, and more importantly, in 1984? If Reagan and Brezhnev reach early agreement, the argument goes, the peace movement will fade away just as the ban-the-bomb movement of the 1950s disappeared after the Soviet-American agreement to end atmospheric nuclear tests. Yet so many things have changed. The nuclear arsenals of the superpowers are more dangerous today because they contain weapons that are more accurate and reliable and thus more likely to be used. Politicians now in power appear ready to use them. The world seems unstable enough to create a brushfire that could easily ignite them. People are rightly scared. Finally, there is the economic recession, which makes citizens think more seriously about their tax dollars, or pounds, or marks, or francs. The end result of this extraordinary confluence of factors may be no less significant to the atomic revolution than was World War II, which forced man to use his startling discovery in a destructive rather than a peaceful way. The highly visible members of the national security community who presided over the atomic revolution these last forty years may steal the headlines with their belated remorse, but for the past decade a more significant section of the American polity has been debating its own involvement with nuclear weapons. It is the Church.

ON AN AVERAGE WORKING DAY IN THE relentlessly flat ranch country of the Texas Panhandle, about 2400 citizens of the cattle town of Amarillo drive gas-guzzlers and pick-up trucks seventeen miles to America's nuclear-bomb factory. It is a sinister-looking place. A sign outside says U.S. Department of Energy, Pantex Plant, and, in small print, warns unauthorized persons not to stray beyond a barbed-wire fence 500 yards from the main factory buildings and the small concrete "igloos" where the bombs are stored. In the intervening no man's land, huge jackrabbits leap about and bundles of tumbleweed are swept waist-high by a constant wind.

This inhospitable workplace has always attracted a waiting list of job applicants for the simple reason that the average salary is \$20,000 compared with Amarillo's \$13,000. The people of the Panhandle don't mind making atomic bombs; they have never been allergic to the requirements of national security. Most are still raw patriots; they use God and a gun to protect themselves and their property, and they think God and nuclear bombs should be used to protect America from communism. Anyone who dis-



agrees is a traitor or a sissy, or both.

Which is why the Catholic bishop of Amarillo, Leroy Matthiesen, is not as revered as he might be. Last summer the soft-spoken prelate became one of the first of a growing number of America's Catholics to oppose the arms race. In a pastoral letter Matthiesen said he had consulted the scriptures, papal announcements, and his own conscience and concluded that Catholics should not be working at Pantex; it was immoral to build nuclear weapons. This was a statement of great personal courage: In a town that boasts one of the world's largest slaughterhouses, where a steer is put to death every thirteen seconds, being against nuclear weapons was like being anti-hamburger. Only 10 percent of the 150,000 population of Amarillo are Catholics, and even some of them disagreed with the bishop's stand. Most citizens sharply rebuked him for what they saw as a treasonable act. They offered him a one-way ticket to Moscow.

Like many American Catholics, Matthiesen had grown up in the tradition of the New World where the cross and the sword were planted side by side. "I was a regular jock," he says. "I had a gun and went hunting like the rest of them." But a year ago, a Catholic employee at the Pantex factory asked the bishop for guidance on the religious and moral questions of nuclear weapons. Matthiesen found that every pope since Pius XII had unequivocally condemned nuclear weapons as immoral, but in the conservative world where Matthiesen lived, their statements had gone unheeded. Like others in his church, he had missed the beginnings of the serious debate on nuclear weapons among the more radical elements. In the mid-1970s he began an intensive search for a moral and ethical answer to the question. Now he thinks he has found one.

Today Bishop Matthiesen is one of the best known members of the American peace movement and has lectured across the country in support of a bilateral nuclear-weapons freeze. About 140 of the 301 Catholic bishops have endorsed the freeze. Some have made personal public protests. The archbishop of Seattle has withheld the portion of his taxes going to defense; another Catholic priest has advocated selling church-owned stocks in corporations that profit from the arms race. Behind closed doors, the Bishop's Conference, an annual event, is preparing a statement for release this November saying that it is not only unacceptable to use nuclear weapons in war, it is also unacceptable to *threaten* to use them.

In what seemed like a sudden turnabout, American Catholics joined the traditional peace ministries of the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Brethren, and even some Evangelical Baptists, in objecting to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. The problem for Catholics had been how to reconcile the possible use of nuclear weapons with the Thomist just-war theory. That doctrine says war should not be undertaken unless the following criteria are met: the cause is good; the use of force is proportional to the aims of the war, and is restricted to combatants; the end result is estimated to be preferable to the situation prevailing if force were not used; and, finally, all other means to resolve the problem, or dispute, have been tried and failed.

In the 1960s, in the days of MAD (mutually assured destruction), when whole cities were targets, it was easy to show that nuclear weapons could not possibly satisfy the

criteria of sparing civilians. This was true in many people's minds not only because of the explosive power of nuclear weapons but also because of the high levels of radiation left behind. But as the United States moved on to a doctrine of so-called "flexible response" with smaller, more accurate weapons aimed at the other side's missiles instead of cities—the so-called "counterforce policy"—the distinction between the civilian casualties inflicted by nuclear and conventional weapons became less clear to some people. The question was, Could the counterforce policy ever be morally acceptable?

One characteristic of the counterforce policy stood out: In order to produce smaller, more accurate weapons, the technological arms race between the two sides had to continue. This, in turn, meant a further delay in abolishing nuclear weapons altogether. It was possible to conclude, therefore, that although MAD was abhorrent, counterforce was worse; the requirement to continue the arms race was bound to further delay the abolition of the weapons altogether. Out of this kind of reasoning sprang the freeze.

IT WAS THE QUAKERS WHO CONSTRUCTED the bridge from the religious debate to an arms-control proposal. In the summer of 1979 the American Friends Service Committee adopted a plan for a "nuclear moratorium." It called on the United States to halt, unilaterally, the production and deployment of nuclear weapons for a period of three years. Although no one knew it at the time, the Carter administration was already proposing to Brezhnev both a freeze and reductions, a plan that the Soviet leader turned down. Carter's proposal was little more than a propaganda ploy; SALT II had also just been signed and was awaiting ratification by an increasingly reluctant Senate. As ratification slipped out of the Democrats' grasp in the fall of 1979, the Quakers took their moratorium idea to a young, radical arms-control specialist called Randall Forsberg and urged her to draft her own version of a freeze.

Forsberg had been introduced, almost by accident, to the arcane trade of arms control at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, where she edited manuscripts. Returning to the United States she went to MIT and then started her own defense-analysis institute, concentrating on assessments of U.S. and Soviet force levels. In the spring of 1980 she published what became the founding document of the freeze movement. It called for a bilateral and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. Speaking to old, established peace groups and antinuclear groups across the country, Forsberg presented a simple focus, something they had lacked since the "Strontium 90" marches of the late 1950s.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Reagan administration helped to orchestrate the freeze movement. The bombastic rhetoric of the 1980 presidential campaign with its constant talk of beefing up nuclear forces to meet the increased Soviet threat helped to concentrate people's minds on nuclear weapons. The freeze movement spread and, importantly, more professional arms controllers started to take an interest in its proposal. As Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists said, "It was the only

game in town." Some famous names hopped on board the freeze. They included Philip Morrison, who had worked on the Manhattan Project, and George Rathjens, the MIT professor who had been the chief scientist at the Department of Defense during the Eisenhower administration. Others would follow.

The first political success of the freeze came in the November 1980 elections when three Senate districts in Massachusetts, districts that had voted for Ronald Reagan as president, passed freeze resolutions. The considerable task of organizing support for this resolution was done by Randall Kehler, a veteran peace activist who had been jailed for draft evasion during the Vietnam War. Picking up on Kehler's success, freeze supporters, using the local organizations of the Quakers, started gathering names for petitions to put the freeze on local ballots across the nation. By the beginning of this year, almost 300 towns, more than thirty city councils, and the six state legislatures in New England had passed freeze resolutions. In California half a million signatures put the freeze on the November ballot.

It was hard work for the lay people presenting freeze resolutions to the popular vote; none of them were "experts." Far from it. They were mostly young people concerned about their own and their children's future. But people have a tendency to believe that the "experts know best"—especially when it comes to nuclear matters. Throughout the nuclear story the elite band of scientists, engineers, generals, and politicians who have run our nuclear world have consciously promoted their "expert" image and intimidated questioners. On occasion they have deliberately lied about the effects of nuclear power or weapons. They have created closed societies in which major military and civilian decisions were taken without the normal checks and balances of the democratic process.

As David Lilienthal warned us in 1963, "The atom had us bewitched. It was so gigantic, so terrible, so beyond the power of imagination . . . So greatly did it transcend the ordinary affairs of men that we shut it out of those affairs altogether; or rather tried to create a separate world, the world of the atom." Ordinary citizens could not, and did not, penetrate this mysterious world. The nuclear arsenals were built in secret. The decisions and doctrines that governed them were classified or accessible only to specialists. When the ordinary people reacted to a gut feeling about nuclear weapons in 1981, they did so with little knowledge and a lot of emotion. They were untutored in strategic missiles. They sensed the danger in Reagan's belligerent rhetoric and the ludicrousness of national civil-defense plans that suggest that you go to the beach and listen to the radio while the bombs drop downtown. Still, it was hard to introduce and carry resolutions about nuclear war at a town meeting called to discuss what color to paint road-signs, or what size to make the baseball field.

These problems were well illustrated by a town meeting I attended in the tiny fishing community of Cushing, Maine. In the back of the fire station, on a bitterly cold night in the middle of March, Leslie Land, a professional pastry cook, had taken the floor to propose the freeze after the 150 or so villagers had engaged in a lengthy and sometimes stormy debate about the town baseball field. Land, expecting opposition, was careful to outline the freeze proposal in terms more civic than military. Whatever the subject under discussion, she said, every citizen should speak his mind. "It is both the right and duty of every citizen to care."

Earl Robishaw, a robust Korean War veteran who is the

local parking-meter cop, disagreed. The Russians are out to destroy us, he said. "We want bigger and better nuclear weapons and we'd better let Washington take care of the matter. We've existed now for over 200 years; Washington must be doing something right." In other words, leave it to the experts. "Yeah," exclaimed a man from behind a gleaming yellow fire truck, and, turning to Land, he muttered, "Communist." The freeze resolution passed nevertheless, by an overwhelming vote of the sixty or so villagers who had stayed for the debate.

Although the freeze had been growing rapidly for almost eighteen months the movement had attracted almost no media attention. The Catholic bishops had caused a minor stir with their protests in the summer of 1980, but there was a lot more going on. Running parallel with the freeze movement, a number of anti-nuclear-weapons groups were being formed. One such was Ground Zero, a public education project run by a former National Security Council staffer, Roger Molander. With his twin brother, Earl, he had raised a staggering \$285,000 during 1980-81, a good

THE FREEZE HEATS UP

by Carol Polsgrove

THE LAST TIME FRED SEIKE HAD BEEN INVOLVED in politics, except as a voter, was twenty years ago, when he worked on a school election. Then last fall he went to a San Francisco lecture by peace activist Daniel Ellsberg, saw an antinuke movie, *War Without Winners*, and started circulating petitions to put California's nuclear freeze initiative on the ballot. He's been working on the freeze campaign ever since. Like many of the hundreds of Californians active in the drive to pass the freeze resolution in November, he sees the campaign as a healthy revival of citizen participation in politics: "The democratic process is still workable. It's just that we've forgotten that it is," he said, between answering phone calls at the northern California regional office.

Just when we thought grassroots politics was dead and in the hands of the embalmers in Washington, it is showing unmistakable signs of life. The California freeze campaign is pulling in physicians, lawyers, teachers; church leaders and environmentalists; peace activists, business executives, and politicians; veterans of earlier political movements and newcomers like Fred Seike.

They are coming together on a single issue: They want the U.S. and Soviet governments to halt nuclear-weapons testing, production, and deployment before either side makes the next destabilizing move in the arms race. And they see the freeze as only a first step toward reining in the nuclear powers.

"The real problem is that our governments have gone insane worldwide," said Seike. "And the people are the only ones who have the sense that they're crazy. The governments don't think so. And so somehow or another we have to find a way to get through to the governments to say, 'We know what's going on, and what's going on is that you're crazy.'"

Simple, is it? No, of course not. And freeze organizers know that. They're getting set for a long haul. This is more than a campaign to pass a single initiative. This is the beginning, they hope, of a political movement.

Some see it turning into a full-fledged disarmament movement; others envision it becoming, finally, an ecology movement or a movement for economic and social change. What kind of future they see for it—or how far into the future they see—depends on their personal political back-

grounds. Those backgrounds are so varied that the freeze has done well just to maintain a political present. Already fault lines have appeared, although none, so far, has cracked open.

The biggest threat to the California campaign has been the sometimes uneasy relationship between organizers coming out of a grassroots background and those brought into the movement by Los Angeles millionaire Harold Willens, a former anti-Vietnam War activist.

The California freeze was started by Los Angelesans Jo and Nick Seidita and the Sepulveda Unitarian-Universalist Society to which they belong. In early 1981 they sent out a mailing to more than 100 organizations asking them to endorse the idea of placing a freeze proposition on the California ballot. The tiny congregation of 241 adult members kicked in \$2900 to get the campaign started. They took the idea to the national General Assembly of the Unitarian-Universalist Association; they wanted the California campaign to become a model of grassroots organizing for other states.

Harold Willens joined the campaign, according to Nick Seidita, at the second statewide meeting, last September. "When that man came into the campaign," said Seidita, "the campaign was already under way and structured." It is obvious, talking to Nick, that he resents Willens's subsequent dominance of the campaign. Willens is now state chairman, while neither Nick nor Jo serves on the six-member state executive committee.

"Everybody bowed and scraped their foreheads on the floor when Harold Willens came into the campaign. He's name and he's money and he's connections. . . . [But] he is not a grassroots man. His approach has never been grassroots. His approach has always been media, big name. He's a star kind of person. Now that's important in the campaign. We can't do without it. But this campaign cannot succeed if it turns into a media debate between the haves and the have-nots. They'll beat our ass every time and I've told him that to his face. . . . The beginning of this campaign was an authentic, grassroots beginning. If it doesn't stay that way, it doesn't have a future."

Besides money—lots of it—Willens has brought to the campaign the flash of high-technology politics: mail-order fundraising, media manipulation, and even paid petition gatherers. He was responsible for hiring the West Coast office of Craver, Matthews, and Smith, direct-mail experts,

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measure of how the nuclear-war issue was attracting funds. Molander was viewed with some suspicion by the freeze movement; after all, he was a professional arms controller and he had not endorsed the freeze. However, he had also written a paperback book entitled, *Nuclear War, What's in It for You?*, a primer on nuclear weapons that was written in a breathless, often mocking style. It was the sort of thing that Madison Avenue might have produced if they had been given a brief to sell peace. It irritated those who had been lingering anonymously for years in liberal defense think-

tanks trying to work out "sensible" solutions to the arms race. But it was an instant best-seller, with almost a quarter of a million copies in circulation a month after it came out. The thirst for knowledge about the issue was there all right. Another group that had equal success was the Physicians for Social Responsibility. Young PSR doctors toured the country with horror stories about the effects of nuclear weapons, and their membership increased sevenfold in ten months.

The response to all this activity was enormous. By the

and Los Angeles-based media consultant Bill Zimmerman, who also handled Ed Asner's recent fundraising for Medical Aid to El Salvador. Returns from the mail-order campaign, running at an average of \$25 a return, "represent a gold-mine virtually unparalleled in the history of modern political fundraising," Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway commented in the *Village Voice*.

But Willens's businesslike associates have sometimes rubbed organizers the wrong way, making decisions, for instance, without consulting the local activists. And there is tension, too, between political styles and ideologies. "A good many of the peace people never did electoral stuff before," said Scott Imler, coordinator for San Francisco County grassroots organizations. "Left-of-center groups . . . are finding themselves working with the right-of-center groups for the first time."

Thus far the center is holding. After a recent meeting of the forty-four-member statewide campaign committee, a couple of representatives were virtually aglow with excitement about working together. A. Lee Sanders, an Oakland trial lawyer with several years' experience as organizer and litigator for Common Cause, said, "The potential of this organization is incredible, in my opinion, as far as developing a grassroots movement around the nuclear freeze issue, here in California and, I think, beyond." Ying Lee Kelley, former Berkeley City Council member and veteran of the anti-Vietnam War movement, said she felt a striking unanimity on campaign goals and organizations. "We really did feel good," she said, "and no one had a sense that anything was railroaded."

Between now and November, freeze activists will be going house to house and appearing before neighborhood organizations to publicize the initiative and to ask for contributions for the media campaign that will run just before the election. Meanwhile, churches and other peace organizations will be writing letters to members and would-be members of Congress. After the November vote, the county organizations will stay in place, perhaps with a half-time or full-time worker in each county to keep the issue visible. Thus far, the official emphasis has been on electoral politics and the November initiative rather than on demonstrations and other street actions.

There have been hints, in fact, that the freeze organization might be used in 1984 to help elect either Edward Kennedy or California Senator Alan Cranston as president. Several freeze organizers I talked with did not think the idea out of bounds. But Nick Seidita, who started it all, was horrified by the thought. "I don't believe that for a moment," he said, although he allowed that the Democratic Party might have that in mind. "What we have emphasized from the very beginning of the campaign is that this movement is not the creature of any political party. We

invite all political parties to support it. But we are not going to be captive—the history of peace initiatives that have been taken over by the Democratic Party is that they have been co-opted."

Some observers would say that the freeze movement does not have to be taken over by the Democratic Party to be rendered ineffective. They maintain that the initiative defines the issue in such a way that it is almost a nonissue. Mervin Field, director of a California poll that showed California voters favoring the initiative by nearly two to one, told a writer for the *California Journal*: "It's a motherhood issue type of thing. But if it looks like unilateral disarmament or something less than a national commitment to heavy defense, it'll be in trouble."

Peace activists who have remained outside the movement are waiting to see whether the freeze initiative has the staying power to force progress toward real disarmament. Bay Area resident Steve Leeds, who has worked with both the Abalone Alliance (an anti-nuclear-power group) and the War Resisters League (a freeze endorser), said: "Things can take off, and they can get big play in the mass media and they become popularized issues. And just because something becomes a popularized issue doesn't mean it's going to be a popular issue over the long haul. And nuclear disarmament is not going to happen in a few weeks. . . ."

"People talk about nuclear weapons as an aberration or something horrible that's just sort of happened. And I think the reality is that nuclear weapons are the dominant force in U.S. foreign policy since 1945, and they've been a major part of the United States dominating the world—economically, socially, and politically. And they're very much tied into the military-industrial complex. The corporate structure that controls the country is the same corporate structure that perpetuates the arms race."

The California freeze campaign is a long way from addressing the economic drives behind the nuclear-arms race. Its emphasis is on the great peril that confronts us now. "We have to come to grips with the reality of the world that we live in," said one executive-committee member, the Reverend William Monroe Campbell—a world in which war can mean "the destruction of all life."

Coming to grips with that reality, in practical ways, is a political problem of such proportions that Americans have long preferred to ignore it. We have left it to presidents, generals, and the corporations they supported with arms purchases. Now, in growing numbers, Californians are joining activists in other states to demand a say in their own continued existence.

Is the freeze campaign an illusion, a mirage in the desert, one more fantasy from lotus-land—to be cancelled next season? Forgive my innocence, but I hope not. ■

end of 1980 the freeze movement had an estimated 20,000 local organizers spread across the country. But Forsberg and Kehler deliberately kept a low profile. They were dealing with a simple reaction to a simple proposition; the plan was to keep the movement growing at the local level—no marches, no rallies, no press conferences—because there was a problem. The freeze was fine as an arms-control *idea*, but as a proposal to take to Geneva, it was vulnerable. As soon as the pundits started to examine it, awkward questions would be asked. How would a freeze be verifiable on both sides? What was meant by freezing all delivery vehicles that can carry a bomb? Did that include a general-purpose fighter aircraft like an F-16? How would a freeze fit into the pattern of past arms-control negotiations? In the end it was the politicians on Capitol Hill, anxious to jump on the freeze bandwagon, who forced the movement out into the open.

SENATORS EDWARD KENNEDY AND MARK Hatfield, the liberal Republican from Oregon, picked up the freeze idea and made it a political buzzword almost overnight. After consulting a number of liberal arms controllers, they produced a resolution in mid-March that called for a bilateral freeze on testing, production, and deployment of all nuclear weapons, and then systematic reductions of the strategic arsenals. This was a clever, and necessary, move. Word was out that the administration was planning its own arms-control proposal for release in the summer and it would seek reductions of up to 50 percent in the strategic arsenals.

The resolution attracted the almost immediate backing of almost half the Senate, more than 120 members of the House, and a rich bag of former generals, admirals, academics, scientists, and arms controllers. After a decade of trying to make sense of the impenetrable numbers game of the SALT process the public had a proposal it could understand. Senator Kennedy personally made such an issue of the freeze that its life was assured, even if as skin and bones, until the end of the year.

The obvious success of the freeze at the grassroots sent some of the experts into a flap. For three decades arms control had been their exclusive territory, now it was being invaded as never before. Representative Les Aspin, of Wisconsin, a veteran arms controller, called the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution “weasel-worded,” a phrase that left most people thinking that he was against the freeze movement. “Not so,” said Aspin later. “I welcome it on the political level and I want to encourage it because anything that gets more interest in arms control is a very good idea. I differ (from Kennedy-Hatfield) in that I would first sign SALT II and then try and get reductions, not freeze first and reduce later.”

The question of SALT II had been hanging over the freeze from the beginning. Not only was SALT a well-trodden negotiating path that professional arms controllers were reluctant to give up; SALT II left the United States and Soviet Union roughly equal. It also required the Russians to dismantle 10 percent of their largest and most threatening intercontinental ballistic missiles—the ones causing what President Reagan called a “window of vulnerability.” But the administration insisted, churlishly, that the treaty was “fatally flawed,” a position taken first by the hawkish Richard Perle, who as chief aide to Senator Henry Jackson of Washington had led Republican opposition to SALT II

under Carter. Perle took his crusade to the Pentagon, where he is now a key aide to Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger.

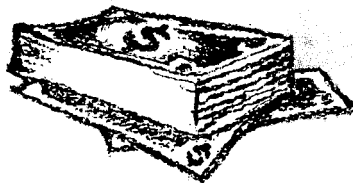
When the freeze idea emerged, a number of key senators—including some, like John Glenn of Ohio, who had been against SALT in 1979—started to revive interest in SALT ratification. The effort had been aborted by Carter after the invasion of Afghanistan. Politically, SALT II was now the middle ground. It was a good place for Democrats to position themselves in the spring of 1981 while they waited for the president’s own strategic-arms-control proposals. After a year of doing nothing on strategic-arms talks, the White House and the State Department, in large part responding to the freeze, were forecasting a dramatic Reagan plan for bilateral deep cuts in the arsenals.

When it came, at the beginning of May, the president’s proposal was a propaganda flop. Unable to extract himself from the corner in which his party and his campaign had placed him over SALT II, the president had to produce something new. His answer was to concentrate on counting warheads, not missiles, and asking for reductions, not limits, on overall numbers. He called for both sides to reduce their warheads on ballistic missiles to approximately 5000 each, a cut of about a third. And he proposed that no more than one half of these should be land-based. This was a difficult proposition for the Soviets since 75 percent of their warheads are land-based, as opposed to only 25 percent of America’s. Reagan also specifically rejected the idea of a freeze, saying that he planned to continue to build a new generation of nuclear weapons—the MX, the B1, and the stealth bombers and cruise missile. In other words the nuclear arms race continued.

Freeze advocates wasted no time in denouncing this part of the speech, but the main thrust of their protest was to urge quick ratification of SALT II. Support for this move came from a host of politicians and arms controllers, from Henry Kissinger to Randall Forsberg. It put the White House in an awkward position; they had made it quite clear that, as far as they were concerned, SALT II was “dead.” But the revitalized pro-SALT lobby pointed out that the negotiators of SALT II had always assumed that reductions in the arsenals would be sought in SALT III; in fact, a formula had already been worked out and passed as a resolution by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It called for continuous year-by-year reductions of nuclear weapons in SALT III. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the time, General David Jones, had even endorsed it. The aim was to produce a resolution that would allow the president to move out of his corner and allow the Senate to ratify SALT II without actually saying so. For the moment the freeze took second place, but outside Washington freeze organizers reported no slowing down in enthusiasm or recruitment. Making the president this year’s peacenik was evidently a considerable, if not impossible, task.

Just how considerable the task is will become clearer this summer, when the Reagan administration, pushed by public opinion, finally engages the Soviets in preliminary arms negotiations. With its heart still set on the MX and cruise missiles, and increasingly even on the ABM (currently banned by treaty), the administration will likely play to the public with nice-sounding proposals while avoiding the substance of an agreement. The hope remains, however, that an informed and vigilant public can transform the negotiations from mere theater into a solid and lasting turnaround in the nuclear arms race. 

Feeding the Dairy Lobby



by Michael
McMenamin

THE DAIRY LOBBY believed it would go on forever. There would always be those golden milk bottles at the end of the rainbow; the government would always be there to force consumers to pay more for milk than a free market would permit. It was the American way.

But now some of the bottles are starting to break. The dairy lobby, long considered Washington's most powerful business interest group, is in no immediate danger of losing its license to steal from the taxpayer. Yet it has already taken on the Reagan administration many times and come

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away a loser on each occasion. Even bigger battles lie ahead, and, for the first time since the Johnson administration, the betting odds are not with the dairy lobby.

It wasn't like that in the good old days of the Nixon and Carter administrations. Back then, the system *worked*. You could, for example, hire a Washington lawyer prominent in national Democratic fundraising circles, to deliver a briefcase containing \$100,000 in illegal cash to Nixon's personal lawyer on the West Coast. The president's lawyer would put it in a safe deposit box with all the other cash and send the word back to Washington. The dairy policies of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) were then confirmed or altered accordingly.

Even Watergate couldn't bring the dairy lobby down. When Congress limited private contributions to presidential campaigns, the dairy lobby cleverly turned around and gave all their money to congressional campaigns, invariably to incumbents. And when Jimmy Carter hit the White

taken its lumps from Reagan:

■ Early in 1981 the Reagan administration pushed a bill through Congress that eliminated an automatic increase in dairy price supports scheduled for April 1, 1981.

■ Both in the spring and fall of 1981, the Reagan administration beat back determined dairy-lobby efforts to have Congress limit imports of casein, a milk derivative that is uneconomic to produce here because casein's market price is *less* than USDA dairy price supports.

■ Through a series of veto threats, Reagan kept dairy price supports in the new 1981 farm bill at the same level through October 1982 that they had been since October 1980.

■ That same 1981 farm bill engineered by the Reagan administration eliminated any connection between dairy price supports and parity (the inflation-proof price support mechanism based on milk prices of the 1910-1914 period) for the first time since the program began in 1949.

■ In April 1982 Reagan upheld the recommendations of the U.S. Interna-

payers have to pay for the rest.

This latest Reagan attack on the dairy lobby will give its leading supporter on Capitol Hill, Senator William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), another opportunity to demonstrate his unwavering allegiance. Originator of the "Golden Fleece" award, which publicizes wasteful federal spending, Proxmire is the favorite senator of the National Taxpayers Union and votes regularly against all kinds of excessive government expenditures, domestic and defense.

Almost all kinds. In order to do his good work, Proxmire has to placate his state's dairy farmers. Here is his reasoning:

The No. 1 victim of economic injustice in this country today is the farmer and especially the dairy farmer. He does everything a person is supposed to do to justify a reasonable income in a free economic society: He takes a big risk, not only on prices but on weather; he makes a large investment of capital; he works tremendously long hours. . . . And his reward for all this is an income that is an insult.

As financial journalist James Grant observed in *Barron's*:

Broad application of Proxmire's idea would provide welcome news to Xerox Corp., which invested \$1 billion to compete with IBM in computers, only to fail. . . . By dint of hard work and a willingness to take risks, the senator suggests, the dairy farmer has established a moral claim on the U.S. treasury.

Proxmire's efforts in support of dairy farmers' moral claim to other people's money has cost U.S. taxpayers tens of millions of dollars. Proxmire's monthly Golden Fleece awards—such as one to the National Science Foundation for wasting \$144,000 on a research project—seem paltry in comparison.

Price supports, like inflation and taxes, were only supposed to have one direction—up.



House, he didn't have to be bought like Nixon. He had become a millionaire through government subsidies for peanut farmers and had made extravagant promises to dairy farmers in order to defeat Mo Udall in the crucial Wisconsin primary. Carter and Congress came through in 1977 with over \$4 billion in subsidies to the dairy lobby. Consumers are still paying today as a consequence.

Things are not nearly so rosy today for the dairy lobby. Ronald Reagan doesn't owe them anything; the USDA never paid him to refrain from growing crops on his California ranch; and no one has yet come up with a way to successfully use cows in the Cold War. As a consequence, the dairy lobby has

tional Trade Commission against imposing import restrictions on casein.

True, these administration efforts in effect maintained the status quo, but early in May 1982, faced with a record milk surplus costing the government \$250,000 an hour, Agriculture Secretary John Block announced the introduction of new legislation that would give him the authority to *reduce* dairy price supports. The dairy lobby was predictably outraged. (Price supports, like inflation and taxes, were only supposed to have one direction—up.) The reason is not difficult to understand. Dairy farmers are allowed to produce all the milk that can be squeezed from their contented cows. If consumers don't buy all the milk that results, tax-

ANOTHER WISCONSIN public figure, Walter Merton Singler, is particularly relevant to the current milk-surplus scandal. Singler was the head of the Wisconsin Milk Pool in the 1930s, a prototype for today's huge regional milk cooperatives, which have achieved, with the help of the USDA, monopolistic control over the nation's milk supplies.

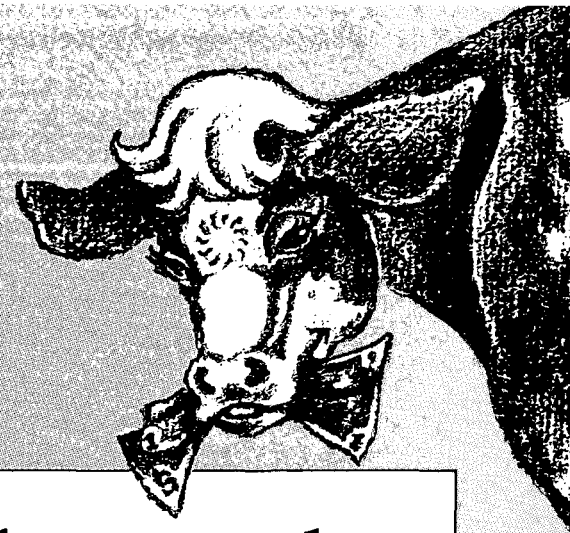
Singler was also one of the leaders of the 1933 Farm Strike, which spread across six Midwest states. Wisconsin was one of the states where the strike was most effective: 20,000 farmers joined the strike, and 15,000 of them manned picket lines to "persuade"

nonstrikers not to send their milk to market. How? Listen to Singler:

You can't have strikes without violence. Without it the strike would be of no use. What would happen? The farmer who's caught taking his milk through the picket lines in opposition to the strike principles is stopped by the picket. The picket says, "Now Jim, don't do that." But Jim does it just the same. And the striking farmer just says, "O.K. Jim, no hard feelings—see you in church Sunday." That ain't no way to get a strike really workin'.

In the fall of 1933, when angry mobs of farmers were threatening to hang

judges who ordered foreclosures on overextended farms, Singler led a march of thousands of farmers on the state capitol in Madison, Wisconsin. Singler and his bully boys stormed the State Assembly chambers, where he personally took over the rostrum and orchestrated a strike vote by the mob. And to what end was Singler's uniquely American brand of violence being put? According to *Fortune* in 1934: "His real panacea for the dairy farmers' ills is that old delusion of the gigantic cooperative. Under the banner



Paying Twice at the Checkout Stand

GOVERNMENT FARM programs hit consumers right in the gut. At breakfast, your orange juice, toast, cereal, and the cream and sugar in your coffee have all had their prices boosted by government design. The candy and Coke you snack on during coffee break costs more. So does your cigarette. Your peanut-butter sandwich, vegetable soup, and milk at lunch (or, if you're a Californian, your avocado and cream-cheese sandwich and papaya juice) are more expensive. Even your candlelight supper of lasagna, salad, and wine has had its price inflated.

If you buy any food or clothing that contains (in alphabetical order) almonds, apricots, avocados, barley, celery, cherries, corn, cotton, cranberries, dairy products, dates, grapefruit, grapes, honey, lettuce, limes, nectarines, oats, olives, onions, oranges, papayas, peaches, peanuts, pears, plums, potatoes, raisins, rice, soybeans, sugar, tangelos, tangerines, tobacco, tomatoes, walnuts, wheat, or wool, you're paying more than you probably would in a free market.

Since 1933 the government has kept the price of food artificially high through price supports, import quotas, marketing orders, monopoly land allotments, and direct transfer payments. According to agricultural economist Bruce Gardner, these programs cost consumers \$5-to-6 billion a year, the equivalent of a 4-percent-a-year sales tax on all food produced in the United States. On top of that, consumers, as taxpayers, have to pay to

DENNIS CAUCHON is *INQUIRY's* librarian.

by Dennis Cauchon

keep these prices artificially high. This year the Commodity Credit Corporation, the governmental body that supports farm prices, estimates it will spend \$10.4 billion, up from \$4 billion last year.

Half of the \$136 billion worth of farm goods produced in this country are covered by some government program. Only beef and poultry are left relatively unaffected—and even these industries suffer because they operate in a skewed market. For example, with milk price supports as high as they are, farmers are encouraged to own dairy cows and produce unlimited amounts of milk rather than raising better beef-producing cattle.

Even with—and possibly because of—all this governmental aid, American agriculture is in poor shape. The number of farms is down, bankruptcies are up, and the industry as a whole lost money last year. Food production is an industry that will never die, but the questions of what and how much to produce and how much to charge must always be answered. The government, by supporting crops that consumers aren't buying, forces the farm industry to give the wrong answers. There are endless possible uses for land, labor, and capital, and, through a free-market pricing system, owners of these commodities synchronize their use with consumers' demands. But price-support programs twist this process around so that capital owners produce and sell what *they* want at a price *they* want—and the

consumer be damned.

Many self-styled "farmer's friends" justify the continuation of support programs by pointing out that the number of individual family-owned farms has declined as more efficient agribusiness concerns take them over. They overlook the fact that present government policy actually favors agribusiness, not only because the same price supports benefit the large corporations, but also because high inheritance taxes often force families to sell their farms to agribusiness. Even so, it may well be that, absent government intervention, there would be fewer family farms—and this leads to a question few politicians have the nerve to ask. Why should farmers—as opposed to insurance salesmen, major-league baseball players, and auto mechanics—be guaranteed the inalienable right to choose a profession, stay in it as long as they want, and set their own pay scale to boot? Why, especially, when granting this right means an additional burden on consumers in general and on poor consumers, who may be unable to pay the additional price of milk or peanut butter, in particular?

The Reagan administration has made attempts to fight some agricultural subsidies, but others—such as sugar—Reagan has traded away in the budget battle or, in the case of tobacco, ignored altogether. The Reagan agricultural program, taken as a whole, has been to trim a little here, tinker a little there. The net result has been maintenance of the status quo—and the status quo is bad news indeed for consumers and taxpayers. ■

of the gigantic cooperative no revolution of farmers will march very far."

Singler was a better prophet than *Fortune*. Today, gigantic cooperatives have a stranglehold on the nation's milk supply. With the help of the Agriculture Department, the giant cooperatives fix the price that dairies *must* pay dairy farmers for their milk. By law, dairies can't pay less even if the farmers are willing. And if the dairies won't buy all the milk at the price fixed by the Agriculture Department and the co-ops, the government's Commodity Credit Corporation steps in to bail out the farmers by buying all the surplus at the dairy support price level mandated by Congress. It's a no-win situation for consumers and taxpayers, a can't-lose deal for dairy farmers and their retainers. Walter Singler would have been proud.

The spirit of Walter Singler lives on in Washington today, and Patrick B. Healy is the most influential of his intellectual heirs. Healy is the secretary, chief executive, and major lobbyist for the National Milk Producers Federation (NMPF), a trade association composed of most of the country's huge dairy-farmer cooperatives. NMPF is the dairy lobby's official voice

in Washington and, as Healy himself modestly admits, "probably the most successful group in this town in the last decade."

In the early weeks of the Reagan administration, Healy was talking as if he expected the dairy lobby to be the most successful group for the next ten years as well. He conceded that the current milk price support laws "need some tinkering with" but stated that the dairy lobby would only agree to a new formula "provided that the dollar-and-cents amount this produces is not less than the previous support level." The previous support level, of course, had produced mountains of unsold butter and cheese rotting at taxpayer's expense in government warehouses. Healy had an answer for this too. Waving his ever-present cigar, he grandly told the *New York Times*: "The poor, Christ told us, 'The poor you shall always have with you' [sic]. A corporal work of mercy is to feed the poor. A sound injunction."

While Healy has not had much success with the current administration, Reagan did, in fact, heed his advice on feeding the poor. Even though price supports had not increased during Reagan's first year in office, the government nevertheless had on its hands by the end of 1981 a record high inventory of 560 million pounds of cheese. Late in December 1981 Reagan authorized the Agriculture Department to give it away to the needy: 30 million pounds was made available to the states for direct distribution in December and another 70 million pounds in February 1982. Also, the USDA announced a pilot program in Iowa to give away 40,000 pounds of butter to the elderly on public assistance programs. Reagan's critics, predictably, accused him of saying to the poor, "Let them eat cheese." But what else should Reagan have done with it? The only alternative to giving it away to the poor was to do what Carter did and let it sit and rot.

REAGAN HAS NOT always shown such common sense in disposing of his inherited surplus. The USDA had a chance in May of 1981 to sell the Russians 100,000 tons of surplus butter at the world market price of \$1.05 a pound, approximately half of the U.S. retail price and less than the Commodity Credit Corporation had paid for it.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig intervened and suggested it would send a wrong signal to the Soviets to sell them butter more cheaply than our own citizens could buy it, particularly since Reagan had recently lifted the grain embargo. Reagan agreed. A few months later, on August 5, 1981, the USDA completed a deal whereby it sold 220 million pounds of butter to New Zealand at 70 cents a pound, 35 cents less than they could have received from the Soviets. One wonders what signal, other than of our own stupidity, Haig was hoping to send to the Russians as we cleverly received \$74 million less for the butter from New Zealand than the Soviets were willing to pay.

Intending to show it could be as tough on the Soviets as Haig, the USDA negotiated a clause that prevented New Zealand from reselling the U.S. butter to the Soviets. But less than four months later, in December 1981, New Zealand signed a four-year agreement with Moscow to sell the Soviets over 100,000 tons of New Zealand butter at a price of \$1.02 a pound. New Zealand officials knew, even if ours did not, that their people would happily consume American butter while selling their own to the Soviets. New Zealand's agreement with the United States also gives it a veto over all U.S. exports of butter through July 1982 and a right of first refusal through the end of 1982. New Zealand has already vetoed a proposed sale of surplus U.S. butter to Egypt.

Not a bad deal for a nation of sheep and dairy farmers, a deal made necessary only by the greed of our own dairy lobby, which lobbied for the legislation that produced the surplus in the first place. Now American consumers not only pay twice the world price for butter, but American taxpayers also pay dairy farmers even more to produce a surplus that American bureaucrats are too inept to dispose of at the world price.

Another example of the insanity of the U.S. milk-marketing system is the current state of dairy farming in Florida, where the cost of operating a dairy farm is probably higher than anywhere else in the country because feed grain cannot be grown in Florida's arid soil and must be purchased from out-of-state. In a free market, many of Florida's 420 commercial dairy farmers would have long since been put out of business by cheaper milk from more efficient dairy farms in the North. But the USDA protects and encourages



Florida dairy farmers. If any dairy in Florida wanted to buy cheaper raw milk from more efficient farmers in Wisconsin or other natural dairy areas, the USDA would not allow it. Florida dairies must pay the same high USDA minimum price for milk regardless of where it is produced, in Florida or out. That being the case, most Florida dairies buy their raw milk from Florida farmers rather than depend on out-of-state sources. The

cost of dairy subsidies hit a record-high \$1.8 billion, \$600 million more than in 1980.

MEANWHILE, THE dairy lobby's latest idea to solve the surplus problem harkens back to the heritage of Walter Singler. Originally called the "Dairy Stabilization—World Price Pro-

1914, and for selling the surplus on the world market for whatever price it would bring. The sponsors of McNary-Haugen envisioned a government guarantee of farm prices through tariffs that would protect an artificially high price at home while the resulting surplus was exported at a market price. But President Calvin Coolidge vetoed McNary-Haugen twice.

Given Ronald Reagan's fondness for Calvin Coolidge, the dairy lobby's exhumation of the gory corpse of McNary-Haugen appears to have little chance for enactment. Reagan's own program of small reductions in dairy price supports, however, does not go nearly far enough. It is a short-term measure, which ever-increasing dairy production will soon overwhelm.

The only real solution is to break *all* the golden milk bottles and eliminate government and politics from milk marketing entirely. As Truman Torgerson, a retired dairy-cooperative executive, recently said about the phenomenon of decreasing milk consumption and an increased surplus:

Dairymen must produce for a market, and when we cannot sell all we produce, we have a responsibility to cut back production. Every time we have let politics rather than economics rule, we have gotten ourselves into a pack of trouble. . . . It has been too easy working under a system that has relieved us of the responsibility of selling our products.

Exactly. Dairy farmers must learn to sell the products they produce, not force taxpayers by law to pay for whatever consumers won't buy. Think how safe the world would be for Chrysler if the government paid for all the cars Lee Iacocca could not persuade us to buy. The Pat Healys of the world will tell you that chaos, anarchy, and milk shortages will result if price supports and government price fixing through federal milk-marketing orders are eliminated. With three dairy cooperatives among the Fortune 500, this is not a credible prediction. Competition and lower prices, not chaos, will be the result. And if some cooperatives and their dairy-farmer members do not fare well under a voluntary system of exchange, perhaps their first reaction ought to be to fire their executives rather than run to Congress for a handout from taxpayers.

Such freedom may not be as secure and lucrative for Washington lobbyists, but consumers and taxpayers will be the ultimate beneficiaries. ■

Dairy farmers must learn to sell the products they produce instead of forcing taxpayers to subsidize their increasing surpluses.



Agriculture Department has no special brief for Florida dairy farmers. Its federal milk-marketing order system was specifically designed in the late 1930s to discourage and inhibit the free flow of milk from one region to another, thereby protecting local farmers, regardless of their efficiency. It still works that way today.

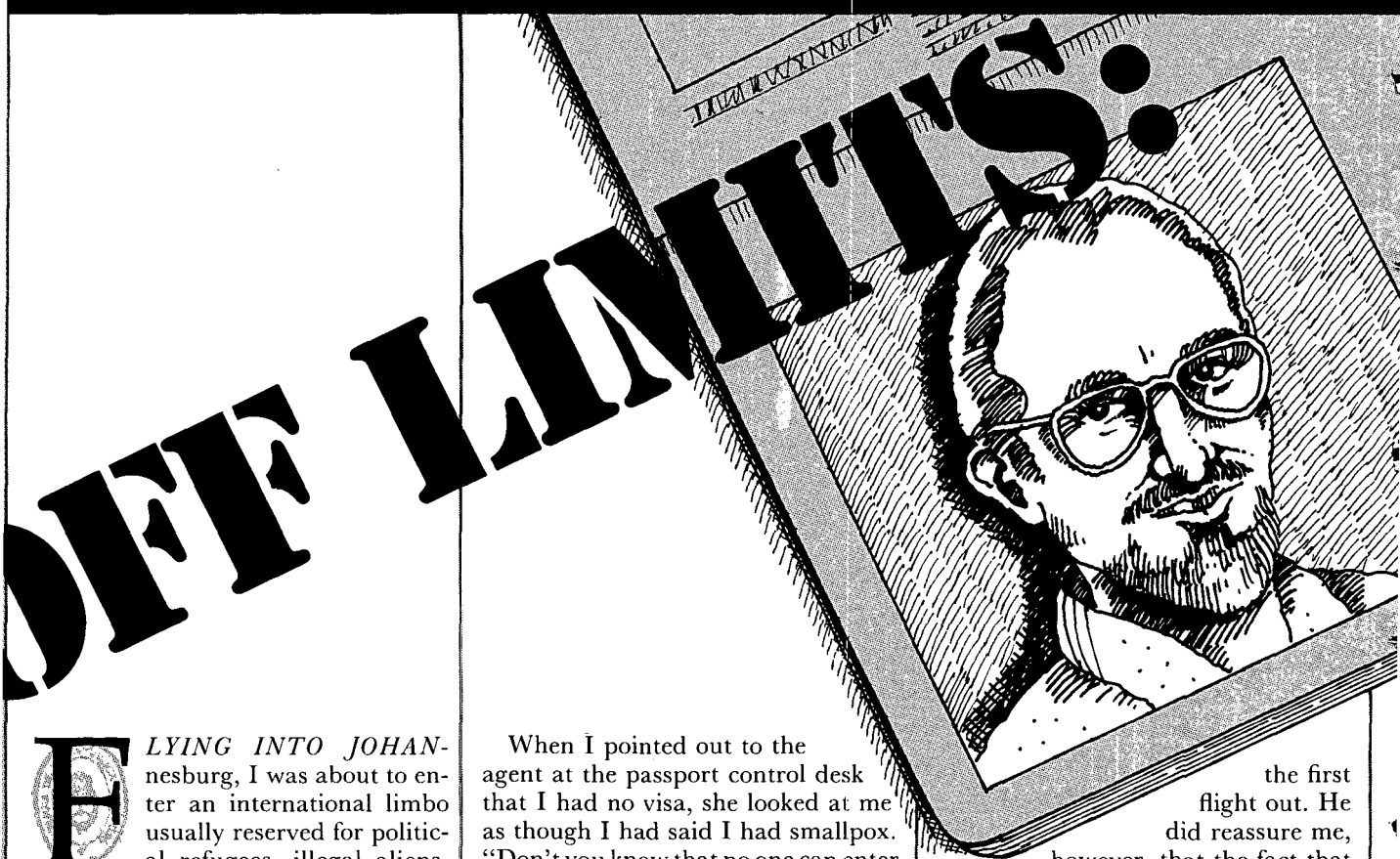
Even with this blatant protectionism, Florida dairy farmers are in trouble. Its single biggest dairy farm, with almost 16,000 cows producing 10 percent of the milk consumed in Florida, is bankrupt. The *Miami Herald* reports there are twelve other bankruptcies among the state's relatively small dairy-farmer population. The Florida dairy farmers who remain, however, are still producing a surplus of milk. Government milk price supports are the major reason for the surplus, of course, but there is an underlying factor magnifying the problem—individual cows are producing more milk than before. In 1981, 189,000 Florida cows produced 31 percent more milk than in 1971, when there were 51,000 more cows.

This increased productivity complicates Reagan's already serious problem with the surplus. Reagan's early victory in keeping price supports at the same level in 1981 as in the last year of the Carter administration did not discourage overproduction—the

program," it was proposed in February 1982 and has undergone minor revisions since then. The program requires U.S. consumers to continue subsidizing U.S. dairy farmers at levels well over twice the world price. The resulting huge surplus will be administered by a National Dairy Board, which will dump it on the world market, depressing prices there by 3 percent to 4 percent.

The idea is hardly original. It was conceived back in the 1920s by the managers of the Moline Plow Company, George N. Peek and Hugh S. Johnson, who figured that their farm-machinery business was not going to prosper unless the government guaranteed farmers a profit. Both Peek and Johnson had served on the War Industry Board during the Wilson administration and preferred the safety of government subsidy to the rigors of competition. Accordingly, in late 1921 they presented a plan to the American Farm Bureau Federation to create prosperity on the farm through government action, at the expense of the rest of the economy. The plan, popularly called "McNary-Haugen" after its two congressional sponsors, provided a government framework for selling farm products domestically at a "fair exchange value" based upon the ratio between industry and agriculture in the golden period of 1910 to

THE POLITICS OF



FLYING INTO JOHANNESBURG, I was about to enter an international limbo usually reserved for political refugees, illegal aliens, and transnational nomads.

Some months previously, I had duly complied with the myriad regulations for applying for a South African visa: filling out forms, securing a letter from my employer attesting to my honorable intentions and promising to repatriate me if necessary, and even investing \$25 in a cable to Pretoria to grease the bureaucratic wheels. But because I apparently posed a fearsome threat to their state, the South Africans had relegated my application to the back burner, presumably hoping I would just go away. I didn't. I had other business in Africa, and since my airline ticket permitted a free stopover in Johannesburg I decided to drop in on South Africa's doorstep even without the necessary stamp in my passport.

Upon landing at Jan Smuts International Airport I was greeted by the encouraging loudspeaker announcement of "Welcome to South Africa!" But I soon discovered that I was not at all welcome in South Africa.

CLARK NORTON is a contributing editor of INQUIRY. He has been everywhere.

When I pointed out to the agent at the passport control desk that I had no visa, she looked at me as though I had said I had smallpox. "Don't you know that no one can enter South Africa without a visa?" she cried. I simply explained, innocently enough, that I had applied for a visa before leaving for Africa, had had no word since, and would appreciate it if she could now check on its status. She stalked off, summoning an immigration officer who ushered me into his office for an hour-long grilling. After wiring to Pretoria for some word on my visa, he confiscated my passport and traveler's checks and announced that I would have to stay in the airport that night while awaiting a reply. I was to be confined to the airport's international transit area, a no man's land for passengers not documented to enter South Africa. So that these herds of unwanted didn't clutter up the waiting rooms, South Africa had thoughtfully provided a corridor of inexpensive hotel rooms, a restaurant, and a cocktail bar.

The next morning I was awakened at dawn by the immigration officer, with the by now fully anticipated news that my visa had not been approved, but with no explanation why. "They never say why," the immigration officer told me, and ordered me to take

the first flight out. He did reassure me, however, that the fact that my visa had not been granted didn't necessarily mean it wouldn't be okayed at some later date. "Your visa wasn't actually denied, it just wasn't approved," he said. That was five years ago, and I'm still waiting.

While South Africa may have raised border obnoxiousness to a fine art, however, it is by no means the lone offender. Almost every nation on earth, including the United States, reserves some of its most petty, archaic, and sometimes most blatantly discriminatory and repressive restrictions for the traveling public. With rather peculiar logic, some governments that spend millions of dollars to lure travelers to their shores seem to delight in making it as difficult and unpleasant as possible for them to actually get there. This is the side of travel that the glossy government brochures never describe.

But travel restrictions inhibit more than just tourism. They also restrict the intermingling of peoples and cultures, the advancement of new ideas, and the free flow of trade, commerce and information. Travel restrictions are among governments' favorite tools

WORLD TRAVEL

by Clark Norton

United States
of America



PAT MORRISON

to punish enemies and favor friends at home and abroad. Their ultimate effect is to tighten governmental control over all people by proscribing one of the most fundamental of all human rights, the freedom of movement. Ironically, a modern invention originally employed only during wartime to ensure safe passage has now become a prime method of restricting passage.

WHenever governments try to score political points in our highly volatile age, it seems the citizen's freedom to travel gets spiked like a political football. Take the case of South Africa. In retaliation for the South African government's discriminatory racial and immigration policies, South African passport holders—whites and blacks alike—are banned from entering many of the countries of black Africa, the Soviet bloc, and elsewhere. Also for political reasons, Israeli citizens are barred from most Middle Eastern and Moslem nations, as well as Soviet bloc and many Third World nations. Indeed, several of these same countries even forbid the entry of citizens of other nations, such as Americans, who merely possess Israeli or South African visas in their passports.

On occasion such restrictions can be especially absurd. For example,

residents of South Africa's "Bantustans," the unilaterally created homelands that no other country recognizes as independent states, will find their passports worthless outside South Africa—leaving them doubly discriminated against: first by South Africa, and then by all the nations protesting their discrimination by South Africa.

U.S. travelers, in turn, while valued for their dollars around the world, will nonetheless find themselves subject to numerous restrictions abroad. Just in my own travels over the past dozen years in Africa alone, I've had a Moroccan visa revoked because of my hair length; landed in Zanzibar only to be greeted by a government representative eagerly inquiring, "When are you leaving?"; was unable to travel to Tanzania at all on one occasion because it had completely sealed off its border with its northern neighbor Kenya; had a visa revoked by Zaire during a Pygmy uprising; was forced to buy \$50 in virtually worthless local currency as a condition for obtaining a visa for an overnight stay in Ghana; and had to pose as a librarian to gain entry into what was then wartime Rhodesia.

And these were merely the incidents after arriving in Africa. Compared to the nightmare of obtaining visas in the

first place—involving endless indecipherable forms, mysterious delays, niggling little fees, letters from employers and travel agents, proofs of solvency and the like—the border experiences were almost smooth sailing. All this from a continent whose borders largely reflect the arbitrary scribbles of hated past colonial powers, but which are now guarded with the jealousy of a queen bee.

But my experiences hardly reflect the worst of the world's restrictions, which range from the prohibitive to the quaint. Though Jim Webb, press officer for the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs, insists that "We know of no country that has a policy of consistently denying entry to U.S. citizens," one suspects he is playing semantic games. Albania, for example, may be said to have an official policy of not consistently denying entry to U.S. citizens only because everybody gave up trying years ago. Nor do Americans have much hope these days of getting into, say, Angola or Mozambique; one must apply "well in advance" to their UN missions in New York—and wait...and wait...and wait...with about the same chance Victor Laszlo had of getting out of Casablanca. Then there are the ever-friendly nations of Afghanistan, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Iran—all of whom welcome U.S. travelers with open arms and open minefields.

Less severe is Burma, for example, which permits a maximum stay of seven days, requires an onward ticket and visa for the next destination, and permits no overland entry or exit from the country. Egypt exempts U.S. citizens from paying a fee for a visa, but instructs them to "contribute

\$2.80 to Abu Simbel Fund (cash or money order)." India exempts Americans from visas as long as the traveler is a tourist arriving by air or boat (*not* overland), has not been in India within the preceding six months, and does not plan to stay more than thirty days. Like most Western European countries, Italy does not usually require a visa for U.S. citizens for stays of up to three months. After that, however, the visitor is ordered to "Apply to competent authorities or Italian police for visa extension"; the problem, of course, is finding any competent authorities in the Italian government.

Libya, a country for which entry requirements for American travelers are rather academic at the moment anyway, makes it easier not to want to go there by insisting on an Arabic translation of portions of your passport, which is not routinely provided in U.S. passports. The central African nation of Malawi, in turn, has a thing about women's slacks—namely, it won't allow women who are wearing them into the country. And, like Morocco, Singapore, and various other countries, Malawian officials still seem to equate long hair with drug abuse—so prepare to get sheared if you want to get in. (Border guards of some countries always have a pair of scissors on hand, and so far none of them have been mistaken for Vidal Sassoon.)

The Soviet Union demands that all arrangements for traveling there be made through the official Soviet travel agency, Intourist, (thus ensuring employment for thousands of official travel guides) and that itineraries be specified in advance. The United Arab Emirates requires that a traveler have a sponsor within the country. (Procter and Gamble? Ralston-Purina? Exxon?) And certain Middle Eastern countries won't admit American tourists at all, Saudi Arabia and Oman among them.

Finally, if you're really looking for an extended trip abroad and are a naturalized citizen of the United States, you might try returning to your country of origin. Certain Soviet bloc countries—such as Czechoslovakia and Cuba—don't recognize U.S. naturalization procedures and may conscript returning nationals into their armed forces.

These are just the outward restrictions. Sometimes U.S. travelers face difficulties that are never spelled out in government publications. "It's often

not so much the stated restrictions," says Roberta Tarbuck, office manager of Embassy Visa Service in Washington, D.C. "Some countries make it extremely difficult just by their attitude. They *say* they want U.S. travelers—both business and tourist—but then they make it almost impossible to get a visa. Then there are others who make it difficult because they quite frankly don't want us to come, even if they'd never say that. And of course there are certain professions that are viewed with alarm—journalists or anyone connected with communications in any shape or form, and missionaries, among others."

AS WE BECOME INDIGNANT about the restrictive policies of other nations, however, remember that the United States has some of the most stringent visa requirements in the world—almost certainly more so than any other Western nation. While virtually every country in Western Europe will admit U.S. citizens for up to three months without a visa, for example, the United States does not reciprocate. The long delays and miles of red tape foreign visitors encounter in acquiring U.S. visas are rivaled only by the long lines they face upon arrival: Even with valid visas in their possession, they must pass inspection by both U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officers and U.S. Customs agents at borders and airports.

And the United States has its own "quaint" little requirements that match Malawi's or Libya's for absurdity. These travel restrictions rest primarily on the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which defines an alien as "any person not a citizen or national of the United States." Aliens, in turn, are categorized as immigrants or nonimmigrants, with an initial presumption of immigrant status (and more stringent admittance requirements), on the part of *every* alien applying to enter the United States until he can demonstrate otherwise. The prospective tourist or business traveler must apply at an American consular office or diplomatic mission in his country of residence, fill out a form, have a passport validated for travel to the United States that will still be valid six months beyond his intended stay here, and produce "evidence substantiating purpose of the trip, intent

to depart the United States after a temporary visit, and arrangements made to cover the costs of stay in the United States and return abroad." All aliens are at least technically subject to being fingerprinted, registered, photographed, and given a physical and mental exam. The exam is discretionary, however, for nonimmigrant applicants, and, according to State Department spokesman Jim Webb, is "not generally administered for nonimmigrant visas" if the applicants "appear physically fit and look okay."

The prospective tourist is not home free yet, however. U.S. law lists no fewer than thirty-three classes of aliens who are deemed ineligible to receive visas and enter the country. According to the State Department's summary, these classes include persons "afflicted with contagious disease (such as tuberculosis) or who have suffered serious mental illness, persons with criminal records involving offenses of certain kinds, narcotic addicts and traffickers, persons who have sought to obtain a visa by means of misrepresentation or fraud, and persons who have been members of certain organizations, such as communist organizations and those affiliated therewith." This summary hardly does justice, however, to the entire list, which goes on for four pages of tiny, single-spaced type, includes numerous subclasses within classes, and bans such undesirables as polygamists, anarchists, prostitutes, beggars, paupers, the mentally retarded and their guardians, those convicted of crimes involving "moral turpitude," and "aliens coming to the United States to engage in any immoral sexual act."

Most of these exclusions *can* be waived, for nonimmigrant applicants, at the discretion of consular officers; the State Department's Webb says, "Just like medical exams, you obviously can't check the criminal records of everyone who applies as a tourist." As Webb acknowledges, though, waivers are by no means automatic—and certainly not in the case of one of the most controversial classes of ineligibility: communists. Even during the days of détente, back in 1975, for example, the State Department resolutely refused to admit Sergio Segre, head of the international section of the Italian Communist Party, who had been invited to participate in a New York conference on Italian-American relations cosponsored by the Italian Insti-

tute for International Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations, which had sought a diverse range of speakers.

Another controversial exclusion—providing that no alien “afflicted with psychopathic personality or sexual deviation or a mental defect” shall enter the United States—has recently been weakened by U.S. District Court Judge Robert P. Aguilar’s ruling that the INS cannot exclude foreigners simply because they state they are homosexuals; rather, they must be certified as homosexuals in psychological tests administered by U.S. Public Health Service doctors. And, since government doctors have refused to give such tests following the surgeon general’s 1979 declaration that homosexuality is not a psychopathic disorder, the INS now has no effective means of barring gays from the country.

Proposed legislation to ease visa restrictions for foreign tourists has been kicking around Congress for a dozen years. The problem is that the politicians have not been able to agree on how many—or which—countries should receive favored status. The State Department has generally supported looser requirements to ease its workload, but the INS has balked because keeping tabs on more wayward tourists would add to its responsibilities. Congressmen disagree on how many nations to drop visa requirements for, and proposals to eliminate the “presumption of immigrant status” for nonimmigrant applicants, hasten any physical and medical examinations required for nonimmigrants, and end double-checking by both INS and Customs officials at border posts, are also stalled.

OF MORE IMMEDIATE concern to most Americans, however, are the restrictions that the United States government places on its own citizens. Since 1952 (except for a few months in 1978 and 1979) all Americans have been required by law to bear valid passports in order to leave or enter the United States. The secretary of state—who has sole authority to issue all administrative regulations regarding passports—may exempt certain foreign destinations from this provision, and has done so for many countries in the Western Hemisphere. But for most Americans traveling abroad,

passports have been legal and practical necessities for the past thirty years.

Prior to 1952, a U.S. passport was regarded primarily as a “desirable incident to travel, not a necessity,” as an appellate court opinion on *Shachtman v. Dulles* put it. Passports were required only during wartime, as emergency measures to ensure safe passage, or to restrict passage, through hostile territory. But after the fighting ended, the requirement of passports remained—giving the government an instrument to control not only the entry of foreigners but also the exit of its own citizens. In the United States, this effectively places the citizen’s right to travel in the hands of the State Department, subject only to congressional enactment and court review.

While only American citizens can hold U.S. passports, no U.S. citizen has an automatic right to be issued one. An applicant can be denied a passport for a variety of reasons, including if he is wanted on a felony charge; is subject to a court order forbidding him to leave the country or committing him to a mental institution; has been declared legally incompetent, unless he is accompanied by a responsible guardian; or is under eighteen and unmarried, unless a parent or guardian authorizes him to have a passport. An applicant may also be rejected if the “secretary [of state] determines that the national’s activities are causing or are likely to cause serious damage to the national security or the foreign policy of the United States.”

If an applicant is denied a passport, he does have possible recourse in a variety of administrative hearings and—ultimately—the courts. But Supreme Court protection of the citizen’s right to foreign travel has been spotty. Nothing in the Constitution directly spells out the citizen’s right to foreign travel—an odd omission, perhaps, for a society founded by emigrants fleeing persecution from foreign lands and fighting domination by colonial powers. But several times in recent decades the Supreme Court has ruled that an American does have a basic right to travel abroad. In *Kent v. Dulles* (1958), for example, which curtailed the power of the State Department to deny passports because of political affiliation, the Court held that “the right to travel is a part of the ‘liberty’ of which the citizen cannot be deprived without due process of law

under the Fifth Amendment. . . . Freedom of movement across frontiers in either direction, and inside frontiers as well, was a part of our heritage. . . . Freedom of movement is basic in our scheme of values.” The Court concluded in *Kent* that any regulation must be pursuant to congressional enactment.

A few years later, the Court held that Congress itself had gone too far by barring members of communist organizations from applying for or using American passports, which had become State Department policy since passage of the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act. Mere membership in communist organizations, the Court ruled in *Aptheker v. Secretary of State* (1964), did not in itself constitute a direct threat to national security; thus, denying passports solely on that basis was unconstitutional. Shortly thereafter the State Department dropped its anticommunist regulations.

Despite such decisions broadening the right to travel, however, the constitutional basis of the right is weak. In an extensive examination of the Court’s rulings on foreign travel published in the *Columbia Law Review* last year, Thomas E. Laursen concluded that “after more than two decades, the constitutional basis of the Court’s protection of travel remains obscure. The principal reason for this ambiguity is the Court’s failure to explain coherently the textual and doctrinal bases of the right to travel abroad.” Laursen points out that the Court has never ruled definitively on the right as a whole, and has frequently upheld specific restrictions on it.

The Court, for instance, has upheld the State Department’s practice of “area restrictions”—banning travel to specific countries or regions by invalidating passports for travel there. And most recently, in the 1981 case *Haig v. Agee*, the Court took a giant step backward by ruling that the State Department could revoke former CIA agent Phillip Agee’s passport for endangering the national security by publishing material relating to CIA intelligence operations. The merits of Agee’s actions notwithstanding, the Court dealt a severe blow to travel freedoms by significantly broadening the grounds on which the government can limit a citizen’s freedom of movement—it even found that the State Department’s revocation had not infringed Agee’s right to travel. “In reaching these conclusions,” Laursen

contends, "and in refusing to employ well-established rules used in the adjudication of cases involving constitutional rights, the Court implied, but did not explicitly state, that it no longer considers international travel to be a 'basic freedom' entitled to heightened constitutional protection."



MEANWHILE, IN 1978, Congress narrowed the State Department's authority to impose area restrictions by amending previous passport statutes to provide that "unless authorized by law, a passport may not be designated as restricted for travel to or for use in any country other than a country with which the United States is at war, where armed hostilities are in progress, or where there is imminent danger to the public health or the physical safety of United States travelers." (At various times in the late 1960s and early 1970s, U.S. passports were invalidated for travel to North Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia, Albania, Cuba, and China.)

"We can't impose area restrictions anymore just because we don't get along with the other country or don't like their foreign policy," says the State Department's Jim Webb. Furthermore, Webb points out, the State Department can't prosecute a citizen for traveling to a restricted area *without* a passport. "In essence we only invalidate a passport for travel to a particular country," Webb explains. "We don't say he can't go there, just that he can't use his passport. If he can get there otherwise, that's okay."

Despite the congressional restraints on area restrictions, however, U.S. administrations have in effect imposed them three times in the past two years. President Carter skirted the restraints by invoking the International Emergency Economic Powers Act—intended to regulate international economic relationships in times of crisis—to ban travel to Iran during the hostage crisis. Carter prohibited "any transactions with a foreign entity or any citizen or permanent resident of the United States relating to that person's travel to Iran." When former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and other Americans traveled to Iran in defiance of the ban in June 1980, the Carter administration threatened to prosecute (penalties for conviction ranged up to a \$50,000 fine and ten-

year prison sentence), but later decided against doing so. The ban itself was lifted in January 1981 after release of the hostages. More recently, the Reagan administration has applied two area restrictions—against travel to Libya and Cuba. It imposed the ban on Americans traveling to Libya because of Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's "willingness to support individuals and groups intent upon committing hostile acts against U.S. nationals." Congress gives the State Department authority to restrict travel to a specific country "where there is imminent danger to the public health or the physical safety of U.S. travelers." Webb of the State Department says, "You can still get your passport specifically stamped to go to Libya if you have good reasons." Possible exceptions to the ban include journalists, and people traveling "for humanitarian purposes" or in the "national interest." Webb also points out that one can visit Libya without using his U.S. passport and remain perfectly within the law. (Of course, the Libyans might have something to add to that.)

In contrast, the Reagan administration was unable to demonstrate an "imminent danger" to American citizens, as required by Congress, to impose an area restriction on Cuba. Instead, it simply banned the spending of U.S. dollars on tourist or business travel to Cuba. That includes expenses while in Cuba and transportation to get there. Nor can any U.S. citizen make investments in Cuba or open a branch of a business there.

Of course, just as in Libya, the situation isn't hopeless. If you are a journalist or a government official (who could still bring back \$100 worth of Cuban cigars if he wished), have close relatives in Cuba, or are traveling for "humanitarian reasons or for purposes of public performances in Cuba," you could get permission to go and even spend your money there. Meanwhile, since the ban was issued by the Treasury Department—under the terms of the Trading With the Enemy Act—rather than by the State Department, Webb says that "if you can get there without spending any money then it's perfectly legal. . . . The State Department hasn't said you can't travel there."

The lesson seems to be that, irrespective of judicial and congress-

sional limitations, an administration can find some way to put clamps on foreign travel when it suits its political purposes. During the recent Polish crisis, for instance, one of Reagan's first moves was to suspend Soviet and Polish national airline service to the United States, and docking rights for Soviet ships, including cruise ships, in U.S. ports. Hardly a death blow to martial law in Poland, but it gave the appearance of decisive action.

But what alternatives does a traveler have in these days of perma-sealed borders, passport restrictions, and interminable visa regulations?

Well, he might apply for a "Planetary Passport" issued by Planetary Citizens, a New York-based group which believes that "everyone has the right to leave any country." Planetary Citizens has issued some 4000 Planetary Passports, and "about 70 percent have had some success in crossing borders using them," says Executive Director Gordon Feller. "They're used quite frequently in West Africa—Ghana, for instance, where residents who can't get passports otherwise need them—and one American even got back into the United States using one." (The United States does not normally honor them.)

Even the people at Planetary Citizens don't advise you to leave your U.S. passport at home, however. "Some countries are really nasty about it, and you shouldn't try to use them there at all," says Mary Ann Klimek of the Planetary Passport office. "Switzerland, France, and Belgium are the worst. Switzerland will threaten you with incarceration. Britain and the Netherlands aren't authorized to stamp them. The USSR, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia don't honor them either." If you're interested in trying your luck in Ghana, however, you can obtain a Planetary Passport for \$20. "One way they'll get recognized is if a lot of people start using them," Klimek says with a hopeful voice.

If you aren't quite ready to make that sort of stand, however, there is one other alternative. In its official pamphlet on obtaining a passport, *Your Trip Abroad*, the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs cheerily advises, "The Office of Passport Services welcomes photographs in which the applicant is relaxed and smiling—so smile!"

And have a nice trip. 

Where the Left Goes Wrong on

FOREIGN POLICY

by Murray N. Rothbard

WITH EVERY PASSING year, as memories of the Vietnam War fade from our nation's historical consciousness, the calls for America to reassert itself in the world arena grow more insistent. A proliferation of national-security think tanks and conservative publicists issue daily proclamations that all the world is a battleground between the United States and its Soviet adversary. The infrastructure of intervention, from Carter's Rapid Deployment Force to Reagan's 600-ship navy, forges ahead, unmindful of the legacy of our past interventionist follies.

Who is there to remind us of those follies? Now that neoconservatism has captured so many of America's liberals, it seems at times that the left, which can still round up a good crowd to demonstrate against aid to El Salvador, has a monopoly on the noninterventionist wisdom. But the left, too, is changing with the times; although it can always be counted on to oppose American support for rightist regimes, increasingly the left has abandoned the lessons of the 1960s to advocate its own, more "progressive" brand of intervention on behalf of radical regimes and social movements. Soon it may be true that only the libertarian heirs of the old right will stand for a principle that, before World War II, commanded the loyalty of the majority of the population.

In today's political lexicon, of course, the right favors a militant foreign policy of global intervention,

whereas the left is still seen to advocate nonintervention and peace. But it was not always so. Indeed, from the mid-thirties down to the mid-fifties, the right was "isolationist," anti-interventionist and antimilitarist to the core, opposing American entry into World War II, the Marshall Plan, NATO, conscription, and the sending of U.S. troops to Korea. In contrast, before, during, and considerably after World War II, spokesmen for the left were ardent partisans of the interventionist policy of "collective security," a philosophy on which the United Nations was founded. The left proved as anxious to prosecute the Cold War as it had been to join in the Second World War. It remained for later revisionist historians to realize that the left-wing campaign of Henry Wallace for the presidency in 1948, so ardently supported by the Communist Party, was mired in the same reverence for the global American Empire, and the same worship of collective security, that had long captivated liberals and centrists in American politics. This kinship was starkly revealed when Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor, the Progressive Party candidates on the 1948 ticket, later enthusiastically supported American entry into the Korean War.

It is ironic that in American politics, aside from a few Marxist sects and one or two independent journalists, the only forces strongly opposing the Korean War were the writers and politicians of the old, classical liberal right: Robert Taft, Kenneth Wherry, George Bender, and Howard Buffett in Congress; Felix Morley, Garett Garrett, and John T. Flynn among the

writers and theorists. The liberals, including the *Nation* and *New Republic*, endorsed the Korean War and strongly attacked the conservative opposition.

The collective-security concept that so enchanted the old (pre-1965) left sounded pretty good: Each nation-state was viewed as if it were an individual, so that when one state "aggrieved against" another, it became the duty of the governments of the world to step in and punish the "aggressor." In that way, the bitter and lengthy war in Korea became, in President Truman's famous phrase, a "police action," needing no declaration of war but simply an executive decision by the world's chief cop—the president of the United States—to be set into motion. All other "law-abiding" nations and responsible organs of opinion were supposed to join in.

The "isolationist" right saw several grave flaws in this notion of collective security and the analogy between states and individuals. One, of course, is that there is no world government or world cop, as there are national governments and police. Each state has its own war-making machine, many of which are quite awesome. When gangs of states wade into a conflict, they inexorably widen it. Every tinpot controversy, the latest and most blatant being the fracas in the Falkland Islands, invites other nations to decide which of the states is "the aggressor," and then leap in on the virtuous side. Every local squabble thus threatens to escalate into a global conflagration. And since, according to collective-security enthusiasts, the United States has apparently been divinely

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appointed to be the chief world policeman, it is thereby justified in throwing its massive weight into every controversy on the face of the globe.

The other big problem with the collective-security analogy is that, in contrast to spotting thieves and muggers, it is generally difficult or even impossible to single out uniquely guilty parties in conflicts between states. For although individuals have well-defined property rights that make someone else's invasion of that property a culpable act of aggression, the boundary lines of each state have scarcely been arrived at by just and proper means. Every state is born in, and exists by, coercion and aggression over its citizens and subjects, and its boundaries invariably have been determined by conquest and violence. But in automatically condemning one state for crossing the borders of another, we are implicitly recognizing the validity of existing boundaries. Why should the boundaries of a state in 1982 be any more or less just than they were in 1972, 1932, or 1872? Why must they be automatically enshrined as sacred, so much so that a mere boundary crossing should lead every state in the world to force their citizens to kill or die?

No, far better and wiser is the old classical liberal foreign policy of neu-

trality and nonintervention, a foreign policy set forth with great eloquence by Richard Cobden, John Bright, the Manchester school and other "little Englanders" of the nineteenth century, by the Anti-Imperialist classical liberals of the turn of the twentieth century in Britain and the United States, and by the old right from the 1930s to the 1950s. Neutrality limits conflicts instead of escalating them. Neutral states cannot swell their power through war and militarism, or murder and plunder the citizens of other states.

SUCH WERE THE LESSONS taught by the right and ignored by liberals and the left. By an irony of history, however, both sides were to reverse course after the Korean War. The reversal started with the right wing. The death of such leaders as Senator Robert Taft and Colonel Robert R. McCormick, powerful publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and the retirement of others, including the resignation of Felix Morley from the weekly *Human Events* (which he had helped to found) in protest of its change of heart, provided an ideological and political vacuum for a new right to emerge and become triumphant in American conserva-

tism. The influential biweekly *National Review*, founded in 1955, quickly captured the right wing with its ideology of militarism and global anticommunist crusades. The right was now firmly and even more fervently in the very same prowar, interventionist camp that had once been a monopoly of the left and center.

For a decade or more, the Cold War consensus was scarcely marred by a ripple of dissent. Ideologists and politicians vied with each other over who could be more anticommunist in their favored use of American power abroad. Kennedy and Nixon, during the 1960 campaign, hastened to accuse each other of being soft on various communist regimes; and it should not be forgotten that for John Kennedy, then the idol of liberals and many leftists, Camelot included sending the Green Berets into Vietnam and marching to the brink of nuclear war in order to force Soviet missiles out of Cuba.

Of course, it was Vietnam that turned the tide and led to the flowering of the new left in the late 1960s. While the student and antiwar rioters received the publicity, the most enduring new leftists were historians and scholars who challenged the consensus views of the Cold War by showing the enormous extent of U.S. responsi-

When the old right sounded (almost) like the new left

LEADERS OF THE OLD right were among the most outspoken—and farsighted—critics of America's descent into the Cold War. Having just seen the United States emerge from the bloodiest global conflagration of all time, they were loath to embark on further foreign adventures that might entail similar sacrifices of life, liberty, and property. Representative Howard Buffett, Republican of Nebraska, pointed out the domestic consequences of foreign policy in his cogent attack on President Truman's plan to aid Greece and Turkey, a plan many historians regard as a turning point in the Cold War:

"After we have spread ourselves in Greece and Turkey," Buffett told the House in March 1947, "and our leaders are patting themselves on the back for their successful firm stand, a new alarm will come in. Communistic outbreaks will be reported serious in

another area. We will rush to that alarm. A billion-dollar call will come from Korea. There will be renewed demands from China.

"All over the world we would soon be answering alarms like an international fireman, maintaining garrisons, and pouring out our resources. . . .

"In the meantime, what will have happened at home? Economy plans will have generally gone up in smoke. . . . Attempts at economy would again be smeared as reactionary efforts to save dollars at the cost of the lives of American boys. Patriots who try to bring about economy would be branded as Stalin lovers.

"The misery of the people, from continued militarism and inflation, would soon become unbearable. As their anguished protests became vocal, the shackles of regimentation and coercion, so lately thrown off, could be refastened in the name of stopping

communism at home."

Buffett envisioned that a policy of globalism would bring in its wake "totalitarian tactics of smear, censorship, and lying propaganda" to "overwhelm those who resist," and demands for military conscription "to fill the ranks of garrisons for Palestine and the Near East oil fields."

"Even if it were desirable," Buffett concluded, "America is not strong enough to police the world by military force. If that attempt is made, the blessings of liberty will be replaced by coercion and tyranny at home. Our Christian ideals cannot be exported to other lands by dollars and guns. Persuasion and example are the methods taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth. . . . We cannot practice might and force abroad and retain freedom at home. We cannot talk world cooperation and practice power politics." ■

bility for East-West conflict. Most of the historians were students of William Appleman Williams, then at the University of Wisconsin. Williams established the new-left paradigms of anti-interventionism in foreign policy, and attacks on corporate liberalism, or New Deal statist policies, in domestic affairs. Though socialists and independent Marxists, Williams and his followers—David Horowitz, Ronald Radosh, James Weinstein, and others—acknowledged the lonely and prophetic struggle against war and intervention waged by the old right and praised the moderate anti-interventionism of Robert Taft and Herbert Hoover. *Ramparts* magazine, the vanguard of the new left, even gave space to classical liberal antiwar writers.

Moved by its opposition to the Vietnam War, the new left came to echo (largely unwittingly) the old right in attacking the imperial presidency and its growing executive dictation over foreign affairs. While the new leftists never understood or appreciated free-market economics, they showed a willingness to make common cause with libertarians, not only on foreign policy and civil liberties, but even in attacking centralized post-New Deal statism. Their occasional mutterings about local, “decentralized” communitarian socialism seemed vague and quixotic, but at least they appeared to appreciate the menace of the Leviathan State, at home and abroad.

Nowadays, however, the new-left interlude seems to be over in more ways than the disappearance of the much-vaunted counterculture or of student riots. On the domestic front, the anti-statist insights of the new left are mostly forgotten, leaving the new left virtually indistinguishable from the old. Read *In These Times*, for example, the weekly published by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and edited by James Weinstein, a distinguished historian of the Progressive Era who seems to have abandoned scholarship for journalism. On domestic affairs, apart from superior intelligence, there is very little to distinguish *In These Times* from such old-left papers as the *Daily World*. There is the same concentration on local left-wing political action, and on the boring activities of various insurgent union locals. Ronald Radosh and other new-left scholars have joined the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (now the Democratic Socialists of America),

Nowadays, the anti-statist insights of the new left are mostly forgotten.

the epitome of old leftism in its devotion to the Democratic Party and to the “Browderite” strategy (named after Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party) of achieving socialism through gradual accretions of state power. Whatever happened to the blistering new-left critique of Progressivism and New Dealism? Whatever happened to the new left’s repudiation of Browderism and centralized statism?

On foreign policy the current position of the left is far more ambivalent.* Certainly they are still opposed to the Cold War and to the current manifestations of U.S. imperialism. William A. Williams recently wrote for the *Nation* a trenchant and hard-hitting attack on “Empire as a Way of Life.” Once in a while, they still praise libertarian foreign policy and call explicitly for nonintervention. Thus, in his latest work, *America’s Impasse*, Alan Wolfe, a Marxist historian and foreign-affairs expert close to the IPS, flatly urges a “noninterventionist foreign policy” and favorably mentions the libertarian foreign-policy work of Earl Ravenal.

And yet one wonders. First, of course, there is economics, never the new left’s strong suit. While Williams certainly uncovered an important cause of American imperialism in the continuing drive to subsidize American exports, he unfortunately also contributed the egregious misconception of “free-trade imperialism.” In this view, free trade is just another variant of imperialism, less messy perhaps but just as effectively imperialist as colonial conquest or the neocolonialist blend of political pressure, undercover intrigue, and economic aid. It seems impossible for socialists to understand the peaceable and mutually beneficial nature of free markets and free trade. Sir Norman Angell and other nineteenth-century liberals may have been overoptimistic in their paeans to the peaceful in-

fluence of free trade, but they grasped a vitally important point. The old motto “If Goods Can’t Cross Borders, Troops Will” still makes sense. Oddly enough, the left recognizes this in a backhanded way when it argues, correctly, for freedom of East-West trade as a linchpin of détente. Why, then, does it seem incapable of extending that analysis to other countries? Why should the virtues of free trade not apply, for example, to relations between the United States and the Third World?

Free trade not only means unrestricted trade; it also means unsubsidized trade. One of the agreements between classical liberals and the new left used to be their opposition to foreign aid. Foreign aid is a system by which the American taxpayers are mulcted, in the name of national security or defense of the “free world,” to subsidize U.S. export companies and prop up client states (often ruled by dictators maintaining their regimes through systematic torture). It is, in that sense, a gigantic racket, and it was exposed with gusto by old-right classical liberals, and following them, by the new left.

BUT I AM NOT SURE THAT the left still opposes foreign aid with its former enthusiasm. It was not long ago that the left argued vehemently for continuing economic aid to the leftist regime in Nicaragua. And Alan Wolfe in his manifesto calls not for the scrapping of foreign aid, but rather for a “concerted effort to provide foreign aid through international agencies not committed to strategic and capitalist interests.” Shades of Henry Wallace and the liberal imperialism of the 1940s! The left wants to overthrow American imperialism without touching one of its major props, foreign aid. The taxpayer is still to be robbed, but this time the looting is to be cleansed of “strategic and capitalist” interests through some sort of UN agency. Yet, as a good Marxist, Wolfe should surely know that there is no such thing as a neutral state agency, national or international, devoid of strategic interests

*In the current “left” I do not include either the *New Republic*, which is so interventionist that it now may be termed “left neoconservative,” nor the various febrile Marxist-Leninist sects. This leaves mainly the *Nation*, *In These Times*, and the IPS people as the major left forces.

The left tends to cast a blind eye toward the dictatorial character of socialist regimes that it favors.

or power politics. *Some* power group is going to control it, at the expense of the taxpayer and of genuine freedom of enterprise. And since the United States will be doing much of the taxing to support any such agency, it presumably will have at least something to say in the division of the loot.

In the same book, Alan Wolfe calls upon the United States to ratify the Law of the Sea Treaty as a first step toward "international economic negotiations that would establish trade and currency rules. . . ." What Wolfe fails to tell us is that these "rules" would impose a permanent cartel to restrict production of minerals and to raise their price on behalf of foreign governments. Private enterprise would be crippled or shut down altogether. Whatever the Law of the Sea Treaty is, it is scarcely consonant with the "noninterventionist foreign policy" that Wolfe says he is calling for.

Egalitarian welfare imperialism in behalf of Third World governments is explicitly called for by Marcus Raskin, cofounder of IPS, in his book *The Politics of National Security*. Raskin comes out for an "International Economic Order built on principles of equity, sovereign equality. . . and narrowing the gap between rich and poor nations." Again, it is scarcely noninterventionist to advocate a massive stripping of property from Americans and Western Europeans in order to subsidize Third World governments, a process that would kill the Western goose and lay virtually no golden eggs for Third World peoples, who will not find prosperity until they make it for themselves.

Free-market economist P.T. Bauer is far more cogent about what such an international economic order would entail:

It is now widely urged that differences in income and living standards should be reduced or eliminated not only within countries but between them, and indeed even globally. Hence the proposals for a New International Economic Order approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Because of the enormous and stubborn differences between peoples, policies designed to equalize their living standards would require world government with totalitarian powers. Such a government, to be equal to

its ambitions, would be even more coercive and brutal than the totalitarian governments of individual countries.

It is encouraging that Raskin, as does Wolfe, "look(s) with respect at such men as Robert Taft who asserted a noninterventionist road for the United States." But it is difficult to see Robert Taft doing anything but spinning in his grave at the thought of a scheme for world egalitarianism through the use of coercive government.

Another piece of massive global intervention the IPS people seem to be endorsing is some form of world monetary planning. IPS cofounder Richard J. Barnet calls for the "hard work of developing a new international monetary system." What this is supposed to be remains highly vague, although it is scarcely reassuring to find Alan Wolfe urging a reconstruction of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and a return to their "original purpose." These Bretton Woods institutions imposed dollar imperialism on the world, by tying other currencies to an increasingly inflated dollar—in short, these institutions brought in their wake chronic and aggravated world inflation. Wolfe's "original purpose" provides no balm; he chides the United States for rejecting proposals during the 1950s that would have been far more inflationary, on the grounds that the world would have "grown" (i.e., inflated) even faster. Wolfe's blueprint would give one agency the power to generate a worldwide inflation. Not only is his scheme pernicious; it hardly squares with the ideal of nonintervention.

Another disquieting aspect of left opinion is a tendency to cast a blind eye toward the dictatorial or totalitarian character of the socialist regimes that it tends to favor. Most on the left think of themselves, and probably sincerely, as "democratic socialists," as believers in a blend of socialism with democracy and freedom of speech and opinion. Libertarians hold that vision to be self-contradictory, and democracy, freedom of speech, and socialism to be ultimately incompatible. But, be that as it may, one would expect

democratic socialists to be unsparing in their denunciations of violations of freedom and democracy in socialist countries.

SADLY, THE LEFT'S RECORD has scarcely been reassuring on this issue. The hysterical reaction of many leftists to Susan Sontag's belated discovery of communist totalitarianism is only the latest instance of this myopia. Fortunately, there is little remaining of the old left's adulation of Stalin, and it is difficult for anyone, even Russians, to get particularly excited about Brezhnev or whoever his stolid successor may be. But romantic revolutionaries like Castro and Ho Chi Minh are another story altogether, and, despite the salutary criticisms of Cuba by Ronald Radosh, we have seen numerous apologies by the left of the Castro regime, by Barnet and others of the Vietnamese regime, and, in earlier years, by Gareth Porter (an ex-IPSer) of the odious Pol Pot regime in Cambodia.

Take, for example, the monthly *Democratic Left*, organ of the Democratic Socialists of America. In it we see a laudatory article about the Cuban revolution by Michael Germinal Rivas, a Cuban émigré who chaired the Hispanic Commission of the DSOC ("Twenty Years After the Cuban Revolution," February 1979). Rivas is certainly not completely uncritical of the regime, but we find that "while remaining critical of some aspects of the revolutionary process, there has been increased appreciation . . . for the undeniable accomplishments of the Revolution" among the younger Cuban exiles, which clearly include Rivas himself. Delighted that Castro has been willing of late to open a dialogue with Cuban exiles as well as with the United States, Rivas writes glowingly of Cuban schools, hospitals, and fishing fleets. As Rivas simperingly puts it, there is "the Cuba of people very proud of building a modern, more equitable society in the face of very difficult odds." Rivas goes on about "positive elements in the revolutionary process," hopes for the future, new signs of pragmatism in the regime, and all the rest. He even claims that democracy is on the rise, since local people are allowed to discuss such issues as street lighting and garbage collection.

Well, suppose that someone in the

1930s wrote similarly—as many journalists and visitors in fact did—of the great achievements of the Mussolini and Hitler revolutions, how they made the trains run on time, how there was a new spirit of hope in the revolutionary process, and so on. How would we—indeed how would our democratic socialists—feel about that? They would treat such guff as naive and repellent apologetics for a detestable regime, whether the specific “achievements” were true or not. Why then do they use a different standard for socialist regimes?

All this is not to excuse the equally repellent apologetics of neoconservatives and right-wingers in glossing over the brutalities committed by right-wing regimes, such as Chile or South Africa. A focus only on their economic achievements—which are far more plausible than the supposed socialist triumphs—while ignoring or glossing over the brutalities and oppression should earn the equal contempt of all people who are truly devoted to personal freedom. Double standards by right or left—or by any group—should receive our condemnation. The Kirkpatrickes who try to maintain that left-wing torture is bad while right-wing torture is okay, are no more contemptible than the left-wingers who would, implicitly or explicitly, maintain the contrary.

It is true that logically one’s friendliness or hostility to a foreign regime has no relation to one’s maintenance of an interventionist or noninterventionist foreign policy. In theory, someone may love one regime and hate another and yet not advocate that the United States aid and subsidize the one or move coercively against the other. In practice, however, relaxing our standards of truth and freedom for or against a regime can easily lead to an interventionist position. There is, for example, the left’s record of favoring positive intervention—U.S. aid—in the affairs of socialist Nicaragua, along with the blackmailing claim that without such aid the regime would turn Marxist. Take the way Eldon Kenworthy handles Nicaragua in *In These Times* (February 24/March 9, 1982). In this whitewash, the regime appears to be interested almost solely in growing rice and beans and in building latrines. Nicaraguan rule, claims Kenworthy, is not totalitarian. In fact, in a breathtaking statement, Kenworthy maintains that the Nicaraguan state “controls less than it

By adopting the convenient “we are all murderers” theme, the left lets the real culprits off the hook.

needs to, to make the country run.” One grows glad that Professor Kenworthy is not himself in power. As for the outlawing of the publication of any “false news” that might harm the economy, this is brusquely dismissed as called for by the economic emergency. (Why is it that socialist regimes always seem to have such “emergencies”?) As Kenworthy sums it up: “Given the economic crisis confronting Nicaragua—shared by all Central America—such emergency measures do not seem out of line.” I suppose whether or not they seem “out of line” depends on one’s perspective: whether from inside Managua or sitting in capitalist comfort in Ithaca, New York.

TO ITS CREDIT, THE *Nation* is not so ready to ignore the growing tyranny. The thirty-day suspension of civil liberties and the declaration of a state of emergency, it writes, “should sadden all those who think of themselves as friends” of the Nicaraguan revolution. The Nicaraguan justification—this time the U.S. threat rather than economics—the *Nation* considers real, but not enough to require the suspension of liberties. The magazine points out that the revolution will be hampered by this imposed silence and the covering up of abuses of the Sandinista regime. Fair enough, but perhaps the *Nation* will one day rethink its friendship to the revolution, and come to see that, in the good old Marxian phrase, “it is no accident” that socialism has been accompanied by increasing tyranny. The *Nation* so far refuses to accept the contention of the opponents of the regime that despotism is inevitable, given the centralizing, socialist ideology of the Sandinistas; the magazine instead adopts the cop-out that “by imperiling the Nicaraguan government, they [the opponents] forced the worst from the Sandinistas. They are partners with the Sandinists in deserving blame.” By adopting the convenient “we are all murderers” theme, the left, as it has done repeatedly, lets those actually

committing foul deeds off the hook. Again, how would the *Nation* itself treat a journal that used these very words, say, about the current Chilean or Salvadoran regime, let alone those of Mussolini and Hitler?

Anyone who thinks that the specter of possible left interventionism is exaggerated should ponder the point that the left has led the mainstream in the United States in urging intervention against the right-wing government of South Africa. And suppose that the remarkable, recently stated aspiration of the Reagan administration should come true, and Fidel Castro should agree to a détente in the Caribbean in return for massive U.S. governmental aid; does anyone think that the left would rise in protest?

Despite occasional obeisances to the libertarian and indeed American tradition of nonintervention, then, it looks very much as if the current left has betrayed much of the analysis of the new left and has at least partially returned to the Browderism and the collective-security notions of the old. Today the left still considers itself in opposition to U.S. imperialism. But when the veteran Yugoslav democratic socialist Bogdan Denitch, in an important foreign and defense policy thinkpiece in *Democratic Left* (December 1981), calls for “a nonimperialist U.S. that could ally itself with democratic struggles for self-determination and popular rule,” and for allying itself with “popular forces” in South West Africa, South Africa, Angola, Ethiopia, and Latin America, one realizes that the left has a long way to go to reach a policy of nonintervention. One wonders, in fact, whether the left is at all prepared to accept a foreign policy in which the United States government allies itself with *no one* and retires from the world scene, leaving all international encounters to the private realm of free trade, travel, and cultural and social exchange. For that is what a policy of genuine noninterventionism and anti-imperialism would mean: a world in which the U.S. government no longer tries to push other people around, on behalf of any cause, anywhere. ■

Books

Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing, by David O. Sears and Jack Citrin. Harvard University Press, 271 pp., \$22.50.

The Tax Revolt, by Alvin Rabushka. Hoover Institution Press, 261 pp., \$16.95.

The real class struggle in America

DOUG BANDOW

HOW IS THE AMERICAN pie to be divided? In *Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing*, David Sears and Jack Citrin conclude that this question sets the political agenda for the 1980s. In fact, this is the question of government itself: Who should control the wealth produced, the political class or the producing class?

Neither book answers this question, but both provide an interesting look at the continuing conflict between the two naturally antagonistic classes. Alvin Rabushka presents the more readable and vivid account of the California tax limitation campaigns; Sears and Citrin offer a more detailed, though occasionally laborious, description of the attitudes and forces behind those campaigns.

Both books conclude that the movement has run out of steam. Rabushka, for instance, suggests that, "barring any dramatic changes in political behavior or public opinion, the tax reduction cycle may well have run its course."

Unfortunately, he may be right. The triumphant days of 1978 and 1979, when state taxes actually fell, have passed. In contrast, in 1981 states increased taxes by \$2.5 billion, six times the increase of 1980. Yet even these increases are relatively small; we are not seeing a tax blitzkrieg wiping away all the gains of the tax revolt.

Instead, the producing and political classes are engaged in extended trench warfare over marginal adjustments to those gains.

For instance, in California, Governor Jerry Brown has abandoned proposals to increase oil, mining, and "sin" taxes in the face of public protests, and made additional spending cuts instead. In Massachusetts, localities have rejected proposals to loosen the tax limit imposed by Proposition 2½ in 1980—some recently by mar-

Last summer's tax cuts will barely counteract bracket creep and planned social security tax increases.

gins of up to fifteen to one—and Governor Edward J. King is pushing for state income tax reductions.

Michigan voters turned down an authorization for a higher state sales tax. Alabama, Alaska, Montana, and North Dakota all reduced taxes, while proposals to increase taxes in states such as Virginia, Maryland, and New York have turned into protracted battles with compromise results.

At the federal level, a serious, though still unsuccessful, counter-attack is underway against the phased 25 percent income-tax rate reduction,

and tax-indexing measure, approved last summer. Possible tax increases include administration proposals for additional transportation taxes, a minimum corporate tax, withholding for interest and dividends, and the hiring of more IRS agents. Also present are congressional proposals to eliminate or postpone the final 10 percent rate reduction and the indexing, and to impose more so-called business taxes.

Last summer's cuts are being attacked as "excessive," even though they will barely counteract bracket creep and already-legislated social security tax increases. Indeed, even now it will take two more years just to reduce the percentage of the GNP taken in taxes to the 1977 level.

INTERESTINGLY, BOTH books also generally agree on why the tax revolt gained, and then lost, "momentum." Sears and Citrin focus on the simple fact that "people are understandably readier to demand services from government than to pay for them," and extensively document the apparent paradox of a public that supports reducing the size of government, and the level of taxes and spending, while favoring increased spending for most of the specific programs.

Thus they conclude that the tax revolt was an attempt to get "something for nothing." It was, in a sense, an attempt to solve the paradox by combining restrictions on the overall level of government spending and taxing with elimination of waste, fraud, and "unnecessary" programs. It has fizzled precisely because the intent of most of those behind it was not to eliminate services and programs per se—indeed, not to make any fundamental changes in the status quo at all. As Rabushka states:

It was the voters' commitment to public services that largely accounts for the sudden electoral turnaround. The electorate had simply decided to call a halt to tax cutting in order to safeguard public services that the government warned were in danger of collapse.

What is particularly interesting is that the voters' concerns stemmed in

DOUG BANDOW is editor of *INQUIRY*.

part from simple cynicism—a belief that despite the continued existence of substantial fraud and waste in government, the political class would either cut “essential” services or raise other taxes. In short, the people threw up their hands in despair and agreed to submit to extortion to protect their favored programs.

Both books also demonstrate the practical difficulties for taxpayers, in Rabushka’s words, of fending off “the coalition of taxing and spending interests that links together politicians, bureaucrats, public employees, and recipients of government benefits.” This coalition tends to have greater unity and “class consciousness” than the producing class, and, of course, it possesses greater access to the information and resources of the government itself.

support for, the various tax cut initiatives. They conclude that it was the change in these perceived economic interests, with taxpayers seeing benefits decrease, and service recipients and public employees seeing the costs increase, that in large part resulted in the different electoral results for initiatives after Proposition 13. In particular, they conclude that public employees have become “a much more formidable obstacle to the tax revolt....”

Unfortunately, neither book attempts to analyze the process of government, with its built-in class conflict that inevitably gives rise to such taxing and spending battles. This conflict is not the traditional socialist one between the upper and lower economic strata, but rather is between the political class and the productive class.

Despite the rhetorical overlay of “public interest,” “common good,” and “social justice,” government is essentially the instrument by which

those with political power exploit those without it. It is the most effective means at the disposal of the covetous to appropriate the wealth of the working people, business people, and professionals who produce wealth in the voluntary sector of society.

Both these books make it obvious that such coercive transfers will continue until the basic attitudes of the exploited themselves change: People are now getting roughly the amount of government they believe they want. To change these attitudes, it is necessary to rethink what the *Washington Post* has called the “national agreement on the proper and necessary uses of public money.” It is time to discard the old paradigm and to forge a new one.

First, we must redefine what is a proper use of other people’s money. It is time to reject the contention, voiced for instance by D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy, that failing to redistribute income is “failing the moral test of

SEARS AND CITRIN STUDY the economic self-interest behind both opposition to, and



TOM BALLENGER

government.” The true moral test of government is how well it protects the economic, social, and political rights of individuals, and not how well it coercively appropriates their wealth and regulates their lives.

Second, we must redefine where spending other peoples’ money is necessary. It is here, in fact, where the members of the political class have been particularly effective in exploiting the producers, by making themselves appear to be indispensable. They have convinced the productive class that only they can run transportation systems and day-care centers, collect the garbage, provide parks, or even write poems. And that only they, the members of the political class, can provide that particular service that each individual really wants and is willing to pay high taxes for. It is time for the members of the productive class to ask new questions. For example, instead of asking what could “replace what a library offers,” as did one letter writer to the *Washington Post*, they must ask, “Why must it be a government library?”

THE POLITICAL CLASS HAS tried to manage virtually every aspect of our affairs, and to what end? Years of economic “fine-tuning” have yielded inflation and recession. A social security system has yielded regressive taxation and social insecurity. Layers of housing regulation and literally destructive programs have created the housing price spiral that sparked Proposition 13. Energy price controls and user restrictions have discouraged conservation and domestic production, and greatly stimulated imports. And on and on.

Both books provide illuminating looks at an American phenomenon—one that for a while helped reduce the rate of growth of government while stimulating economic growth. But the movement has not been strong enough: The average American worker still has to work until May 5 to earn enough to pay all his taxes.

The tax revolt will gain strength, and move from political stalemate to political revolution, only if the members of the productive class—the bulk of the American people—decide that their lives, their rights, and their futures are more important than the convenience and welfare of the political class. Only then will they dominate the public agenda of the 1980s. ■

The Ethics of Liberty, by Murray N. Rothbard. Humanities Press, 268 pp., \$15.95.

Man vs. the State

DAVID GORDON

THOSE INCLINED TO agree with Carlyle that economics is the dismal science have never read Murray Rothbard. It is, I think, almost a necessary truth that Rothbard is incapable of writing a dull paragraph, let alone a dull page. In such works as *Man, Economy and State* and *America's Great Depression* he has done more than any other American author to present in vigorous and effective fashion the tenets of the Austrian school of economics.

But, as anyone who has glanced at the footnotes to a Rothbard book will know, he has not confined himself to the technicalities of economic analysis. Rothbard is a true polymath, extensively learned in philosophy, his-

the premier social imperative, at the cost of endless violations of individual rights? Rothbard's support for liberty does not represent a mere arbitrary preference on his part, easily countered by those with competing preferences. Scorning both subjectivism and relativism, Rothbard believes he can demonstrate rationally that persons have the natural rights that libertarians ascribe to them.

One of the arguments he employs in attempting this broad and ambitious task seems to me a significant contribution to political theory. Following the nineteenth-century classical liberal Auberger Herbert, Rothbard points out that unless one grants that people have the right of self-ownership one will quickly be pressed into one of two bleak alternatives. “If each man is *not* entitled to full and 100 percent self-

Rothbard advocates with passionate intensity the values of a free society—liberty is the highest political good.

tory, and law. In the present work, he has applied his immense intellectual energy and erudition to some of the major problems of libertarian theory.

Before considering the contents of the book, there should be no misapprehension on one preliminary point. Rothbard is no detached spectator, writing about society as if he were a lepidopterist studying some new species of butterfly. Quite to the contrary, he advocates with passionate intensity the values, as he conceives of them, of a free society. As he again and again points out, liberty is the highest political good.

But why should one believe this? Why not, like proponents of the welfare state, proclaim equality the supreme goal? Or why not, like Ernest van den Haag, elevate social conformity to the point where it becomes

ownership, then what does this imply? It implies either one of two conditions: (1) The ‘communist’ one of Universal and Equal Other-ownership, or (2) Partial Ownership of One Group by Another—a system of rule by one class over another. These are the only logical alternatives to a state of 100 percent self-ownership for all.”

The question of ownership, that is to say, cannot be evaded. If, then, one considers Rothbard's alternatives, isn't it obvious that the denial of self-ownership is absurd? To say this is to do no more than to reject slavery in a consistent manner. The conclusion for which Rothbard is arguing may at first sight appear, once it has been stated, to be a truism no one would reject. But precisely the opposite is the case. Once given this indispensable Archimedean point of self-ownership and given the further point that the right in question would be in practice meaningless without the concomitant right to

DAVID GORDON is currently completing a study of theories of individual rights.

acquire and dispose of property, Rothbard has all he needs to make a compelling case for libertarianism. However much one may wish to quarrel with him on questions of detail, one cannot help but admire the manner in which, from a simple and seemingly innocuous axiom, he has generated a social theory that, far from being a commonplace, has implications greatly at variance with much that passes for conventional wisdom today.

I have mentioned points of difference with Rothbard, and one such, I fear, already arises in the elaboration of his case for self-ownership. The argument as given seems to me entirely convincing: Once one has come to see what is involved in *denying* self-ownership, the case is made. But to present the case in this way is in part to rely on one's moral intuitions, e.g., in seeing that slavery is wrong; and this Rothbard would regard as a defect. Rather than rely on ungrounded moral judgments, Rothbard believes it necessary to show that his argument forms part of a whole system of natural law. The rejected alternatives aren't just *obviously* wrong, as I have put it; they can be *proven* to be wrong.

In support of this contention, Rothbard offers, in a characteristically succinct and forceful fashion, a defense of the Aristotelian and Thomist tradition of natural law. While there is a great deal to be said in favor of this approach (and much of it is said exceptionally well by Rothbard), I cannot myself see that its introduction does much to strengthen his case. One does not get rid of moral intuitions by rechristening them "requirements of human nature"; and the name change introduces a good many problems of its own. Natural law, as Rothbard presents it, rests on a controversial appeal to man's "essence." Are such complications really needed?

For Rothbard, of course, the fact that a doctrine is controversial is no reason at all to reject it. If anyone entertains the slightest doubt on this score, he will immediately find it dispelled upon even a casual reading of part 2 of this work, "A Theory of Liberty." With extraordinary consistency, Rothbard draws out the implications of his approach to human rights in order to suggest solutions to several problems much disputed among libertarians. Space does not permit us to present his conclusions in detail; but among his arguments are defenses of a woman's right to abor-

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tion, the rights of children (from an early age) to independence from the dictates of their parents, and a denial that animals have rights. I found especially interesting his contention that the right of free speech can be analyzed in terms of property rights.

A crucial point arises in connection with some of its controversial, not to say paradoxical, conclusions. He holds, for example, that blackmail ought not to be a crime and that parents ought not to be legally compelled to support their infant children. In defending himself against the outraged protests of his critics, Rothbard advances a vital claim. He nowhere denies, he points out, that blackmail is reprehensible or that parents ought not to abandon their children. There is no reason to think that his moral views are in any way aberrant. But political philosophy does not deal with all of morality. Its sphere is that of rights; all else is outside its purview.

It seems hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of Rothbard's point here. Politics, in brief, is not the whole of life. In his rigorous restriction of the political realm, Rothbard is very

far indeed from abandoning morality. He is in fact making room for it, by setting his face firmly against the totalitarian impulse to politicize all of life.

In point of fact, so far from being the natural guardian of morality, the state throughout history has been the main violator of human rights. As Rothbard abundantly shows in part 3, "The State Versus Liberty," this is no accident. He applies and extends the analysis of the state of Franz Oppenheimer and Albert Jay Nock, according to which the state by its very nature is an engine of exploitation. It is, in brief, a means by which some live at the expense of others; what, otherwise, is the point of taxation? Rothbard's remedy for the depredations of the state is typically radical: *écrasez l'infâme!*

Rothbard has, especially in recent years, not stood alone in his defense of liberty; and in the fourth part of his book, he analyzes several theorists who fall within the camp of classical liberalism: in particular, Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Isaiah Berlin, and Robert Nozick. Rothbard is a master of the neglected art of polemic and at

his best rivals even A. E. Housman in skill (though decidedly not in malice).

His criticisms of utilitarian free-market economics are especially compelling. Advocates of the approach Rothbard here criticizes, such as James Buchanan, seek to avoid disputes about ethics, which they view as of their nature insoluble. Why not, they say, simply take people's preferences as given and (to oversimplify grossly) advocate only those policies that will make everyone without exception better off? As Rothbard shows, it isn't as easy as these theorists believe to avoid ethical issues. The proposition that everyone's preferences ought to be fulfilled is itself a value judgment; an ascetic (or a sadist) would no doubt deny it. In the course of criticizing the alleged value-free defense of the market as untrue to its own basic premise, Rothbard does not hesitate to challenge the views of his own revered teacher, Ludwig von Mises, who, according to Rothbard, failed to recognize that not everyone was as rational and benevolent as he.

I found only one section in this part unconvincing: that dealing with Nozick, where, I believe, Rothbard seriously misjudges the work of a great philosopher. He ascribes to Nozick, for example, the odd view that restitution to the victim of a crime is "a moral sanction for crime itself." But Nozick's point in the section Rothbard is considering is quite different. The issue at stake for him is: In which cases, if any, may a rights-violator be penalized in addition to requiring him to pay compensation? The *additional penalty* is what Nozick means by prohibition: he does *not* mean that if one pays compensation, one may, with perfect moral justice, violate the rights of others at will. (Rothbard, perhaps understandably, fails to notice that Nozick is using the term "prohibition" in this unusual sense.) Further, if one examines the definition of the state that Rothbard himself offers, one will see, I think, that Nozick is not a statist at all.

But enough of these technical disputes. Whatever quarrels one may have with Rothbard, of one thing there can be no doubt. *Ethics of Liberty* is a book that is unfailingly stimulating and provocative. The author's intelligence, powers of synthesis, love of liberty, and instinct for the jugular emerge with exemplary clarity. Everyone with an interest in political theory should read this book. ■



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Merchants of death

JEFFREY HUMMEL

THE STRUCTURE OF military units and the types of conventional weapons they employ have not noticeably changed since the close of World War II. This fact, along with the popular concentration on nuclear weapons, helps obscure the staggering postwar increases in the lethality and destructiveness of conventional munitions. Most modern fighter planes, for instance, can deliver more ordnance with greater accuracy than the heaviest World War II bombers. The sheer intensity of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War dramatically illustrates this development. A short, three-week conflict left the Sinai Peninsula littered with thousands of demolished fighting vehicles. One aircraft was shot down, on average, every hour, and one tank was destroyed, on average, every fifteen minutes. The experience of a single Israeli tank brigade, which lost seventy-seven tanks, three-fourths of its entire inventory, to anti-tank ambushes in sixteen hours, was typical. The contrast with even the most intense tank battles of World War II is astonishing.

This quantum leap in the power of conventional weapons takes on additional significance when coupled with the unprecedented expansion over the last decade in international arms transfers. At the beginning of the 1980s, arms transfers worldwide exceeded \$21 billion per year, more than double their annual value in real terms at the beginning of the seventies. In addition to growing quantitatively, weapons transfers are qualitatively changing in several important respects. First, the proportion of transfers through sales, either with or without credit, has steadily increased, while the proportion of outright grants

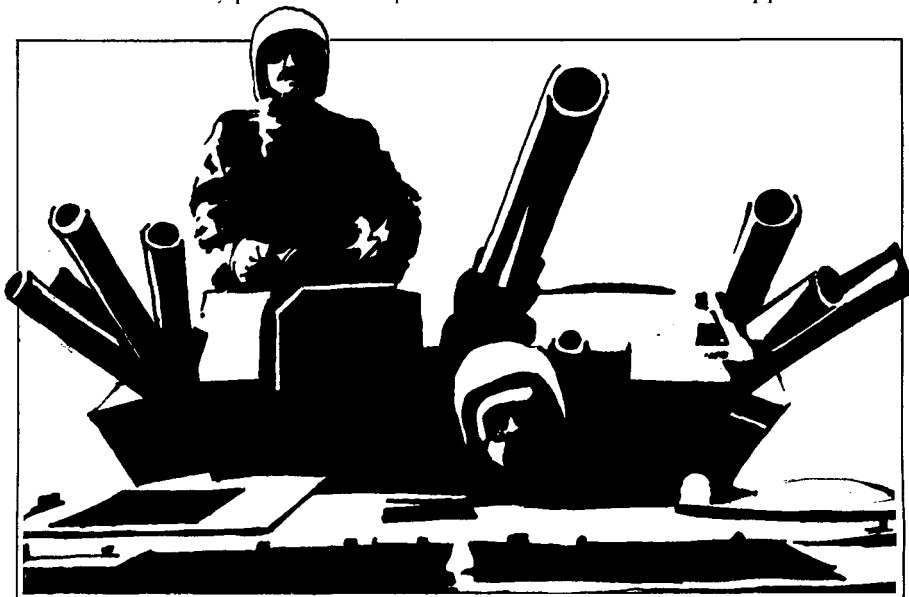
has fallen to a small fraction (many of the long-term "loans," however, may actually be thinly disguised grants). Second, most weapons transferred prior to the mid-sixties went to the developed countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, while today over 75 percent of all transferred weapons go to Third World nations. Finally, instead of receiving arms from the industrial powers' surplus stocks, as was the case before 1970, Third World countries now obtain the newest, most sophisticated weapons available. The shah of Iran, for example, purchased British Chieftain tanks with better engines and more advanced armor than those received by the British army itself.

In short, the four major suppliers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France—are inundating developing nations with weapons which ensure that future conventional conflicts in the Third World will be far more violent, costly, and devastating than in the past. Andrew J. Pierre's *Global Politics of Arms Sales* is a thoroughly researched and well documented survey of this burgeoning arms trade. Pierre, a former State Department official, has written the kind of book that is only possible with spon-

sorship from the Council on Foreign Relations and funding from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. It is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to date, combining a wealth of valuable data with a set of policy recommendations that, predictably, avoid any serious challenge to the underlying assumptions of U.S. foreign policy.

The leader in the escalation of arms sales to the Third World is the United States, which accounts for 40 percent of all world arms exports. (The Soviet Union comes in second at 30 percent.) Although frequently justified as a means to help the balance of payments or the domestic arms industry, these transfers serve primarily to support the different gambits and maneuvers of the government's interventionist foreign policy. The major surge in U.S. weapons sales occurred after Vietnam, with the Nixon Doctrine's reliance upon surrogate gendarmes in various regions as the best substitute for direct military intervention. Since then, arms transfers have become, according to Pierre, the key instrument in the Soviet-American competition for influence in the Third World.

ACTUALLY, MY ONLY complaints with Pierre's book are his lack of information on the extent to which arms sales are financed through credit and his insensitivity to the distinction between arms sales by governments and those by private firms. Pierre's recommendations, on the other hand, are incredibly feeble, especially in light of much of the information included in the book. In an effort to appear reason-



JEFFREY HUMMEL writes frequently on military matters for *INQUIRY* and other publications.

able and moderate, he assumes a mildly disapproving attitude toward arms transfers. He concedes that weapons transfers are, of course, a bit excessive and must, therefore, be restrained, but he objects to any curtailment of the international arms trade that would hinder the attainment of "legitimate" foreign-policy objectives.

Pierre's ultimate solution is for international management of the arms trade through regular consultation between all the weapon suppliers and recipients. As a first step toward this multinational regulation, he would like to see a formal cartel among the

Western governments supplying arms, who will divide the market and set quotas. Pierre tips his hand when he suggests that "arms transfers... should be managed so as to prevent or contain conflict and enhance the forces of moderation and stability." Whether intentional or not, this constitutes a blatant admission that he wants the regulation of arms transfers to serve the foreign-policy interests of the U.S. government.

Meanwhile, ironically, the book itself offers devastating empirical evidence against the efficacy of arms transfers as an instrument of foreign

policy. The largest arms sale program in history was from the United States to the shah of Iran. By the mid-1980s, if all planned U.S. weapons deliveries had been consummated, Iran would have completed the most rapid peacetime military expansion of all time. It "would have had ground forces roughly equivalent to those of West Germany, and a substantially better equipped air force," Pierre reports. The shah's inordinate expenditures on military hardware, however, contributed in great measure to the Iranian revolution, and all of the U.S. military equipment that had been delivered fell

In Print

IT IS A TRUISM THAT IN recent years the price of books has skyrocketed. The kind of collection of hardcover books that would have served a couple of decades ago as an expression as well as an enhancement of the life of an intellectually inclined person of modest means has now become practically impossible to afford. A noble exception to this rule is, happily, provided by the Liberty Press, of Indianapolis. It is exceedingly difficult to convey to those who have not seen the Liberty Classics series by this house just how exceptional are the bargains it offers, year after year. Take for example its most recent titles. There is first and foremost a new edition of Ludwig von Mises's *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*. This is the book that, when it was published in German in 1922, weaned the young F. A. Hayek away from his vague socialist fantasies. The Liberty Press edition includes a new preface by Hayek, who mentions that it had a similar effect at the time on many others, like Wilhelm Röpke in Germany and Lionel Robbins in England. (For my part, it remains, after twenty-five years, the best book I have ever read in the social sciences.) The present edition features careful new editorial work, much of it due to the efforts of Mises scholar Bettina Bien Greaves, and is, physically, a joy to behold. The price: \$11.00 in cloth, \$5.00 in paper. What can one say? Even those who own copies of previous editions will want to have this one too.

More recently Liberty Press has made available a number of other landmark works in the history of classical liberal thought: *A Plea for Liberty*, edited by Thomas Mackay, (\$13.50 cloth, \$6.00 paper) is a collection of twelve essays, published in 1891, critically examining the "social legislation" that had already become the rage. The Press's edition of Herbert Spencer's *The Man versus the State* (\$13.00 cloth, \$6.00 paper), just out, contains a good deal of extra material beyond the four essays originally published in 1884, including an introduction by Albert Jay Nock. Finally, scholars are particularly obliged to the Liberty Press and its director of publications, Dr. J. Charles King, for making available in paperback the complete works of Adam Smith in the definitive Glasgow edition. *The Wealth of Nations* (the two-volume set for \$11.00) and *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (\$5.50) have already appeared, and the remaining four titles will be brought out over the next two or three years. The publication of Smith's complete works in an easily affordable form may be considered a kind of memorial to the late Benjamin Rogge, a close associate of the Press, who had a special place in his heart for the wise old Scotsman. Liberty Press's address is 7440 North Shadeland, Indianapolis, Indiana 46250. (This is *not*, by the way, a paid advertisement.)

On the lighter side: Robert A. Heinlein's latest is *Friday* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, \$14.95), whose title

heroine is a beautiful and superbly resourceful (naturally) interplanetary secret agent fighting an outbreak of the Black Plague in a Balkanized North America.... Calvin Trillin's *Uncivil Liberties: "Dining at the de la Rentas" and Other Entertainments* (Ticknor and Fields, \$10.95) proves again that Trillin is one of the funniest men in the country.

Some new books by *INQUIRY* contributors. Next month, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux will bring out two works by Thom Gunn. *The Passages of Joy* (\$10.00) is a collection of poems, several of which first appeared in *INQUIRY*. *The Occasions of Poetry* (\$15.00) is a long-awaited volume of Gunn's literary and autobiographical essays, bringing together all of his most significant prose over the last thirty years.... David Ritchie, whose "Laser-Rattling in Outer Space" was the cover story for our issue of September 1, 1980, elaborates on the military use of outer space in *Spacewar* (Atheneum, \$14.95).... Oxford University Press has published Donald Davie's *New Oxford Book of Christian Verse* (\$24.95) to generally rave reviews on both sides of the Atlantic. The book collects, under "rather stringent guidelines," specifically Christian verse from the Anglo-Saxon poets through contemporaries. Much to the surprise of the faithful, Davie's anthology received front-page coverage in the worldly *New York Times Book Review*, with a review by no less than John Updike. —R.R.

into the hands of a hostile government.

The premier Soviet experience with arms transfers was a similar fiasco. The leading recipient of Soviet arms in the Third World was Egypt, which at one time had the most massive Soviet military presence of any nation outside the Warsaw Pact. Yet, this did not stop Egypt from breaking with the Soviet Union and enthusiastically embracing the United States. As Pierre himself admits, the foreign-policy gains made through arms sales are tenuous at best.

THE U.S. EFFORT TO dominate the Third World by dispensing death-dealing weapons to its current clients will not succeed, but it will significantly contribute to the obliteration of peasant villages in many different parts of the world and to all the other harm and misery resulting from future wars among the less developed nations.

Furthermore, the very same interventionist impulse that leads to promiscuous arms transfers will also lead to direct military intervention when the failure of the transfers becomes manifest. Already the Reagan administration has resurrected the pre-Vietnam policy of direct U.S. intervention as a supplement to arms transfers. This combination creates a world in which U.S. forces can no longer be confident of fighting poorly equipped adversaries as they did in Vietnam. Instead, the victims of the U.S. military intervention will be armed with the most advanced weapons available—our own. As a result, the United States faces the very real prospect of sending the 82nd Airborne Division, or some other unit of the Rapid Deployment Force, into a trouble spot, and having it quickly torn to shreds. The popular outburst of frenzied jingoism generated by such an eventuality would make the reaction of the American people to the Iranian hostage crisis seem restrained by comparison, and the U.S. government would feel compelled to pour in even more military force.

This is just one of many possible scenarios in which arms transfers, by escalating the intensity of local conflicts, increase the likelihood of global conflagration. Pierre's plan for the management and rationalization of international arms transfers is abysmally inadequate for addressing this threat. ■

The Declassified Eisenhower: A Divided Legacy, by Blanche Wiesen Cook. Doubleday, 432 pp., \$17.95.

A lot to like

LEONARD P. LIGGIO

IN A COLUMN PUBLISHED back in 1965 entitled "The Good Soldier," Murray Kempton wrote, "The Democrats seem certain to take their vengeance on Eisenhower by assigning him a low place in that history of whose composition they have a monopoly." Recent historical works, however, have made it less likely that whatever desire for vengeance may still exist among Eisenhower's erstwhile political opponents will be satisfied. Among these works, Professor Cook's is one of the most distinguished and enlightening. Her earlier monograph, *Dwight David Eisenhower: Anti-Militarist in the White House*, was an

Cook's Eisenhower stands in favorable contrast to his successors and predecessors.

important, pioneering contribution to revisionist history on the subject. In the present work, she fleshes out the story, utilizing newly declassified materials, to show us a president who often stood in marked and favorable contrast to both his immediate predecessors and his successors.

A significant contribution of Cook's book is a detailed examination of how Eisenhower achieved political influence and finally the presidency with the help of various spokesmen for the business community, including Thomas Watson of IBM, Philip Reed of GE, Henry Wriston, president of Brown University and chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, and William Robinson of Coca-Cola and the *Herald Tribune*. Robinson ex-

LEONARD P. LIGGIO is president of the Institute for Humane Studies, in Menlo Park, California.

pressed the views of many of these men when he wrote that "capitalism's worst foes aren't Reds at all"; he emphasized the effects of inflation in undermining the ordinary investor, insisting that "the capitalist free enterprise system . . . has never been so much as scratched by the Communists, but it is being bled to death by . . . [those] responsible for the endless expansion of bureaucracy."

As president of Columbia University, Eisenhower developed an organization called the American Assembly to encourage businessmen to spread ideas such as these—more or less the standpoint of the Old Right—among academics, journalists, and other shapers of public opinion. Through the assembly, businessmen would deal with the urgent public issues: "What rate of taxation are we able to support without mortally wounding our economy? . . . What is the effect of unlimited federal authority to tax upon the independence of the several states and therefore, finally, the freedom of the individual? . . . [Regarding] our military forces [with] their terrific costs, how do we find the proper dividing line between tragic unpreparedness . . . and unconscionable costs?"

Eisenhower's basic political philosophy may be gathered from his diary entry for January 4, 1950, on the closing down of the *New York Sun*, which was ceasing publication because of rigid labor-union rules. Eisenhower had agreed with the *Sun*'s editorial policy over the years, which he summarized as belief in "constitutional government, sound money, reasonable protection for American industry, economy in public expenditures, preservation of the rights and responsibilities of the several states, free enterprise, good citizenship, equality before the law. . . . It has fought Populism, Socialism, Communism, governmental extravagance, the encroachments of bureaucracy, and that form of governmental paternalism which eats into the marrow of private initiative and industry."

George Humphrey, the Taft Republican who was secretary of the

treasury during Eisenhower's first term, emerges from *The Declassified Eisenhower* as the most significant and interesting, if not the most influential, of his cabinet members. As Cook states, "In principle, Humphrey opposed socialism for the rich as well as for the poor." He constantly argued that we "must accumulate rather than destroy capital to continue our neces-

roy after leaving the administration: "This country has never before had an enormous entrenched military bureaucracy. . . . [Now] we have built up a built-in vested interest in Government spending, and it's going to be hell to cut it down. . . . In fact, I don't believe that with all of its present political and propaganda power, any civilian could make much of a dent in it

can carry, and the Russians won't need military strength, we'll just beat ourselves, economically!"

Ike never stopped worrying about the fate of constitutional government in a society gone armaments-mad.

sary sound growth. This simply means that we must gradually reduce rather than increase military and unessential expenditures. In no other way can we reduce taxes and thereby increase incentives. . . ." His view was that the only way the Soviets could succeed in competition with the United States was for the United States to spend itself into bankruptcy. As Humphrey wrote to defense secretary Neil McEl-

even today." Only Eisenhower, with his prestige and determination, could overcome the congressional/contractor/Pentagon clique: "I don't believe we ever again will have the combination . . . that you and the President present . . . to get our sprawling, wasteful, extravagant military machine whipped into shape; . . . [otherwise the United States would be] building a burden that no nation

THESE VIEWS WERE shared by Eisenhower. Already, in October 1951, he had written to Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, Humphrey's later ally in attempting to strengthen the American economy, and hence national security, by cutting the military budget: "Any person who doesn't clearly understand that national security and national solvency are mutually dependent, and that permanent maintenance of a crushing weight of military power would eventually produce dictatorship, should not be entrusted with any kind of responsibility in our country." Ten years later Eisenhower expressed the same sentiments in his famous farewell address, in which he sought to answer the liberal military activists in his own and the opposing party by pointing to the dangers of "the military-industrial complex."

As Professor Cook concludes:

Eisenhower did not create "the warfare state." He did, in fact, more than his successors to restrain the overwhelming growth of that tendency in American economic life. He did not invest endless troops and countless dollars in Vietnam. . . . When he curtailed the Nike-Hercules and Nike-Zeus projects, another uproar ensued: the fraudulent "missile gap." Consistently, from 1952 to 1960, Eisenhower warned that it was possible to bankrupt America, destroy the value of the dollar, and create an inflationary danger that would ruin the American way of life.

If I have neglected the other side of Eisenhower's "divided legacy"—for instance, interventions in Guatemala, Iran, and elsewhere, or a foreign-aid policy, largely dictated by Nelson Rockefeller and premised on an alliance between business and government—it is because the "antimilitarist" Eisenhower seems to me by far the more pertinent one today. We have in office a Republican president who, strangely, seems to be fascinated by the example of Franklin Roosevelt, the great shaper of the welfare-warfare state and the Imperial Presidency. It would be better all around if he hearkened instead to that of Dwight Eisenhower, who never stopped worrying about the likely fate of constitutional government and private enterprise in a society gone armaments-mad.



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Categorical liberty

JOHN HOSPERS

THIS BOOK PRESENTS, DEFENDS, and traces the implications of what the author calls "the freedom principle": "Each person ought to grant other persons the equal right to be free," which means the right to behave *autonomously*. "We respect a person's autonomy when we grant him the equal right to seek his own good in his own way." We fail to respect a person's autonomy when we cause the person to behave *involuntarily*; and a person may cause another to behave involuntarily by (1) using force against him, (2) using threats against him to alter his behavior, (3) taking or damaging something that belongs to another person, and (4) deceiving him (fraud).

Two apparent exceptions to the freedom principle are discussed in the opening chapters. *Paternalism* is sometimes justified (for instance, in the case of children), and *punishment* is justified when persons have violated the freedom of others. (There should be no punishment, of course, for victimless crimes such as prostitution.) The author has some interesting criticisms of the restitution theory of punishment, and further criticisms of the anarchist model of competing defense and arbitration agencies as instruments of punishment.

By far the most interesting and original chapter is the one on property rights. Professor Pollock trenchantly criticizes the traditional Lockean theory of property acquisition ("mixing one's labor with the land"), which, he says, has a distinctly agrarian bias. Suppose, for example, that a river gorge is used by those who enjoy its scenic beauty; these people have not mixed their labor with the land and

presumably do not own it. Suppose now a corporation builds a dam there to generate electric power; does the corporation own the land? If so, only what is immediately under the dam? What about the rest of the gorge? What of power-lines?

There are, the author insists, many resources that are not produced by human beings: land, water, fossil fuels, mineral deposits, airwaves, airspace for travel. "Particular individuals have no obvious claim on these... and civil societies must develop rules for resolving conflicts over who has the right to use which resources." All such resources constitute public property, and all persons have

GOVERNMENT IS A NECESSARY institution for other reasons as well. It "must decide whether particular resources will be public property, private property, or leased property... [and] must establish the rules persons should follow when using public, private, or leased property." It must also decide what sort of currency it will accept, and establish a court system, which could be financed by a voluntary contract fee (*à la Rand*). However, licensure, which prohibits voluntary exchanges, is a violation of the freedom principle. (Prohibiting the sale of high technology to enemy nations is also an interference with voluntary exchanges, and one wonders what the author thinks of such prohibitions when not having them endangers an entire population.)

All government transfer programs—taxing some to benefit others—violate the freedom principle: "The do-gooders who compel others to support their worthy causes are acting as if *their* ends were superior to the ends of others. They do not grant other persons an equal right to be

If a patient could be cured only by an expenditure of \$10 billion, does he have a right to it? And who shall pay?

the same rights to its use; anyone can use public property as long as he follows rules applying equally to all. (What of resources so limited that only one person or group can use them? What of rules that are so restrictive that they virtually prohibit any use at all, such as the U.S. government's impossible condition for leasing lands for mineral or oil development?)

There is a problem about private ownership in such cases: "Since owners and lessees of resources have exclusive rights of use, other persons can not use the resources unless the owners or lessees give them permission. As a result, the freedom of others is diminished." The others should then be compensated for this loss by requiring the users to pay a *resource tax*. (There is a distinct Georgist flavor to this discussion.) One legitimate function of government is to make decisions concerning the assignment of these resources.

free." Some would object that "government should meet people's needs"; but, remarks the author, if a sick person could be cured only by an expenditure of \$10 billion on medical research, does the patient have a right to this, and who has the duty to pay for it? "If medical care is recognized as being an objective need, it is difficult to know what is being claimed when one says that the objective needs of all citizens should be met." There appears to be some waffling on these points, however: Public schools are financed through coercive taxes, and so (says Pollock) there should be no public schools; yet, he goes on, government could well provide student loans. Are these not transfer payments?

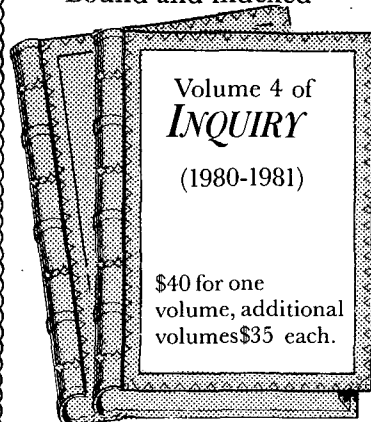
National defense is a legitimate government function, though the difficult problem of how to finance it (with no tax but the resource tax) is dealt with somewhat inconclusively. The author makes some telling criticisms of

JOHN HOSPERS is professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California. Among his books are *Human Conduct: An Introduction to Ethics and Libertarianism*.

anarchists' attempts to substitute private organizations for government in national defense. For example, "These groups could acquire their own nuclear weapons.... There would be no government to control these groups and insure that their weapons are used for defensive purposes."

MUCH OF THE *Freedom Principle* is a review of standard libertarian doctrine, which is already available aplenty in numerous books and articles. Those not acquainted with the libertarian position will find this book fascinating and challenging throughout; those who are will find much of it familiar, and will wish that the familiar material had been forgone in favor of a more detailed discussion of the issues in which the author's discussion is original. Moreover, there are many "gray areas" in libertarian theory or its application (e.g., the limits of paternalism, the problem of immigration, the moving of national and ethnic groups to conform to national boundaries) that deserve much fuller discussion than they have received, and on which the author could have shed some light. But the book is short, and any discussion of these issues is either absent or tantalizingly brief. ■

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Film

Rocky III, directed by Sylvester Stallone.

Hanky Panky, directed by Sidney Poitier.

Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid, directed by Carl Reiner.

Airhead conditioning

STEPHEN HARVEY

THE MOVIES HAVE GROWN up a lot since the days when those in the know derided Hollywood for aiming its output at that Platonic abstraction, the twelve-year-old mind. These days, the biggest chunk of the product is aimed smack at the sensibilities of actual fourteen-year-olds. After all, they constitute the most loyal audience the medium has left, at Christmas, Easter, and especially during summer breaks, when their attention isn't otherwise engaged by thoughts of tomorrow's social-studies test. As the hot weather approaches, all us kids have a lot to look forward to—*Grease II*, *Star Trek II*, two new Steven Spielbergs; novelty positively abounds. Having already witnessed *Rocky III*, I can testify that Sylvester Stallone has transcended his enshrined folk-hero eminence with a single bound; thanks to his preternatural instincts for crowd control and manipulating the baser herd instincts, he's transformed himself into Home-Room Teacher to the World.

Just by elevating the soundtrack of his latest modest self-penned valentine to a level fatal to rodents and other small mammals, Stallone manages to cow the most recalcitrant cutups in the class into abject submission. When the Dolby-goosed crowd in the movie screams and cheers, so do we; when the trumpets surge with the *Rocky* anthem as he pumps and sprints so he

can beat that nasty black gorilla with the mouth of Muhammad Ali and the contours and temperament of Darth Vader, we cheer hoarsely on cue. (An additional note of inspiration comes from the fact that our god's new trainer—in his corner after Burgess Meredith has been dispatched to that Valhalla reserved for hyperactive character actors who have outworn their welcome—is none other than that *nice* black boxer with the smooth manner whom the Stallion creamed in *Rocky I*, or was it *II*? Rocky may be a bit dense, but Stallone is no fool.) Rocky exposes his sinews and confesses to his mousy spouse Adrian how much he needs her, and what girl wouldn't want to be in her bedroom slippers? Director Stallone poses his favorite star in looming close-ups shot from below (to show how powerful he is) or pits him against a couple of super-humongous bruisers (to show what a vulnerable underdog he is before he Gets Mad and punches back), and what guy wouldn't wanna be just like him, once the acne clears up and he can save enough from his allowance to join up at the local Y. So why did I come out of *Rocky III* with a migraine and the shakes and a Bell Jar-sized case of the blues? Just put me down for an F in citizenship.

Of course, most of the summer releases are far more frivolous than this, eschewing such complex and challenging Study Guide themes as *Being a Man* and *Believing in Yourself*. This is also the season for that small band of sure-fire comics to make their semi-annual onslaught on the box offices of the nation. There's an old show-biz canard that most comedians tend in

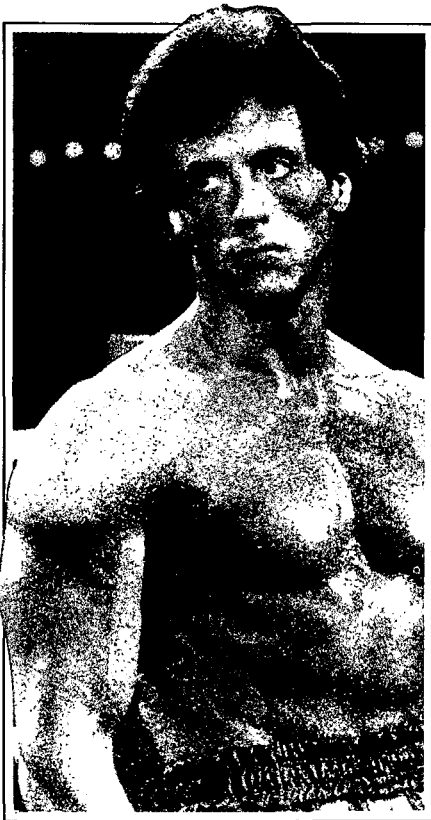
STEPHEN HARVEY is *INQUIRY's* film reviewer. He is coordinator of the film study program at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.

private to be desperate, depressed people; considering the dilemma that faces them once they've been successfully packaged as movie personalities, I wouldn't be surprised if there were some truth buried in the cliché. Time after time, the fans have proven that what they want from the Pryors and Wilders and Steve Martins (not to mention the likes of the late John Belushi) is uninterrupted volleys of the shticks they've already patented. Anything that might deepen, or distract from, these routines is an unwelcome drag. The moviemakers involved soon learn that there's no point in bothering with such niceties as a script with a coherent point or photography superior to film-school-project outtakes, because the target audience wouldn't notice and couldn't care less. If the comic and his troupe succumb to this general aura of slackness, everybody still gets what they want, sort of, since millions of moviegoers are left satisfied, and all concerned make pots of money. Still, the unpleasant side-effects loom if the comedian's gifts petrify, or if his movies start giving off a whiff of contempt for the audience that condemns him to a lockstep of pratfalls. To some, the alternative fate is more dire yet—the possibility of losing his following altogether if he breaks free from their expectations.

THE RESOURCEFUL RICHard Pryor has eluded this dilemma thus far by pursuing two parallel film careers—he can whinny and look spooked and drop his trousers in the plotted farces he makes, while saving the bile and fever for his free-wheeling filmed concerts. His *Silver Streak*/*Stir Crazy* costar Gene Wilder seems more reconciled to turning out dreck for the boobies. (Considering the moony “sensitivity” of his heartfelt turns in *Sunday Lovers* and such, maybe we're better off anyway.) *Hanky Panky*, Wilder's latest, is a particularly mirthless exercise, but that's not what makes it such a dispiriting movie. In fact, it would be stretching things to call it a full-blooded movie at all, when it's such a calculated assemblage of freeze-dried elements for a lucrative package deal; what's especially creepy about it is that no one involved even bothers to disguise the weary knowledge of what they're all up to.

Sidney Poitier, who likewise directed *Stir Crazy*, knows that the

guileless-gutless-duo-on-the-lam number worked the first time beyond the wildest dreams of avarice, so all he has to do is crank it out again, with the help of a cagey neophyte screenwriter who knows a paint-by-numbers formula when it's handed to him. Wilder realizes that his most foolproof gambit is to careen around on automatic as a buttoned-down type bursting at the seams, so he does his keening Jewish basset-hound bit, mewling and trem-



bling and making with the anguished, hurty looks.

A quick look at the ledgers told the executives at Columbia Pictures that Wilder is most likable when shackled to another woebegone comic star. Pryor having apparently had other plans for the moment, they had the inspiration of drafting Gilda Radner. Yet for all the use they put her to here, *Hanky Panky's* creators might just as well have paid Radner for the use of her name on the marquee and dispensed with her on-screen presence altogether. It would have been logical, however predictable, for Radner to trot out a variation on one of her adenoidal klutzes from the old *Saturday Night Live*. Instead, she's called upon to impersonate one movie staple she, of all actresses, is least qualified by nature to play—the wistful ingenue enmeshed in a B-thriller intrigue. You know this girl—she's the one raised in

sheltered affluence in a New England clapboard Colonial, forced to face the nasty real world when her brother, the moody intellectual, is mysteriously killed, and her adoptive uncle, the red herring disguised as a beady-eyed scientist, seems to be in cahoots with the powers of evil. All this, by the way, is the stuff in *Hanky Panky* that's meant to be played seriously. It isn't enough that Radner the ethnic pixie sounds queasy rather than plaintive whenever she gets to the places in the script red-penciled for sincerity; the cameraman further ensures that she looks sallow and haggard in every shot. As in Broadway's *Lunch Hour*, in which she played one of those alumnae of the Jean Kerr Finishing School for plucky waifs, the more Radner strains to prove she's more than a rowdy sketch comic, the more thwarted and uncomfortable she seems to become.

But then, most of the summertime audience isn't expected to notice any of that—since she and Wilder are famous for making people laugh, any movie they make should pass for being funny. It doesn't matter either that, like *Rocky III*, *Hanky Panky* feels like a ninety-minute blurb of highlights from a movie that never was—explosions, hairbreadth escapes, chases by every mode of transport save the dirigible, Richard Widmark looking like a slab of eroded granite dressed in mortuary black as he dispatches minor characters to their doom once per reel. Why dilute all this activity with anything so boring as texture or continuity, or season it with wit that would go over the teensy heads of its presumed patrons anyway? Throughout, *Hanky Panky's* stars look haunted by something more chilling than anything the script manages to cook up—perhaps it's shame at participating in something as cynically mediocre as this movie.

STEVE MARTIN STOOPED to conquer with his screen debut in *The Jerk*, a movie whose ramshackle cheesiness seemed calculated to put a transplanted TV audience at their ease. But ever since, he's tried to lure his public to follow him into bittersweet reveries conjured up by the old movies he loves. Mel Brooks may storm movie history like James Watt at Big Sur, trashing what he professes to cherish, but the comedy in Martin's skewed retrospectives is cued by his own tongue-tied awe at the

potency of those myths. He wants to be like Fred Astaire in the worst way, and that's just what he manages to do. In *The Jerk*, Martin played by the sitcom rules, as a dope who outsmarts everyone, but most people thought *Pennies From Heaven* was a downer, because his Depression song salesman was trapped by the RKO dreams that exalted him—that all-grinning, all-tapping finale was a grim and conscious joke on everyone. Since then, Martin's musings have progressed from white-on-white thirties production numbers to fade-to-black raindrops-in-the-alley riffs from *film noirs* of the forties. Although *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* is a far less ambitious movie than its predecessor, I wonder whether Martin's admiration club will quite appreciate the joke this time either. It might not have been the freshest idea around to make another latter-day parody of the Warners private-eye genre; if Neil Simon got around to something three or four years earlier, it's bound to be a mite tired. But the gimmick Martin and Carl Reiner came up with is resourceful and funny—splicing snippets of the original Ladd and Bogart, Bette, Ava, and Lana into their new trumped-up plot. It's especially engaging to see how tortuously Martin and Reiner will twist their own saga to justify the inclusion of just one more treasured hunk of the real pulp, culminating in a surreal crescendo that purloins the leavings of a forgotten lulu called *The Bribe*. (Charles Laughton twitches, Vincent Price glowers, Ava Gardner purrs, MGM's Latin extras hold a fiesta—or is it a revolution?—and the besotted Martin duly winces on cue.)

Reiner's own dialogue is rarely as pungent as that of his parodied forebears, but his obvious respect for the craftsmanship that held those old movies together inspired him to labors I would have scarcely thought possible from the man who wrought *The One and Only* and *The Jerk*. *Dead Men* is about as affectionate and accurate a recreation of the sight and sound of the straight-faced period article as you'd have a right to expect. (This was the last film the legendary costumer Edith Head worked on, and the clothes are a testament to her particular brand of kitschy oomph; Miklos Rozsa's score replicates the Mahler-dunked-off-Malibu gurglings he perfected in the forties in movies like *Spellbound*.) Rachel Ward is a reasonable approximation of those bygone morally am-

biguous dames from Central Casting—dark tresses, lush lips, and a breathy monotone that turns all dialogue into a slab of Parkay cut on the bias.

But best of all is Martin, in a blissed-out daze as his flat feet stumble around in Philip Marlowe's cast-off gumshoes. The script leaves room for his own routines: A one-take, two-minute bit of the private dick making his special cup of java (for an understandably bewildered Burt Lancaster in *The Killers*) has the unity and precision of a classic gag by any of the great silent-film clowns. Throughout the movie Martin is bent on upending the iconography of the forties—Bogart felt angst but projected strength, whereas Martin exudes self-confidence but comes off as a schmuck every time. *Deadman's* perverse *homages* may only make sense if you know what they're referring to. All those unfortunates unacquainted with the many-splendored *oeuvre* of Barbara Stanwyck, and who don't know *Double Indemnity* from *The Birth of a Nation*, might just be baffled when Martin dons a platinum mop and an undulating girdle to cruise Fred MacMurray in a supermarket, because they won't recognize the celluloid moment being sabotaged. Martin may tarnish his box-office allure by subduing what his public wants for the sake of playing his own *Photoplay* fantasies, but his at least is a magnificent obsession.

OUT & AROUND

Three Brothers—In this country, Francesco Rosi is probably the least known of the great European filmmakers, and *Three Brothers* finds him at the exhilarating peak of his powers. His best earlier work (*Salvatore Giuliano*, *Hands Over the City*) has been jagged and elliptical, bristling with despair over the state of man as political animal. This current still runs through his newest film, but his allegory of an Italy in disarray is tempered with a strain of lyricism and a contemplative note of compassion that are new to him. The title characters, reunited for the funeral of their peasant mother, represent three different approaches to the country's present-day dilemmas, and their respective quests for salvation form the ostensible subject of the film. But its real heart resides in the figure of the family patriarch, played by Charles Vanel, probably the oldest working actor in films (89), who made his screen debut in 1912. His scenes are touched with a magical, ineffable beauty, totally lacking the mawkishness that mars most film treatments of old age. In all really great moviemaking, there are images of such power that you find yourself profoundly moved without ever figuring out precisely why. Despite occasional didactic patches, *Three Brothers* is one of those few films to possess this rare, inexplicable quality. ■

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Midas in reverse

Perhaps you haven't noticed, but Washington is in the throes of a new energy crisis—there is a worldwide oil glut. Gas stations are staying open twenty-four hours and there are no lines to contend with. Prices have tumbled. Oil imports have dropped along with our energy consumption. Even though OPEC recently agreed to raise prices and lower production, it is still bickering like a mafia family, and in classic gangland fashion some members of the cartel are secretly underselling one another. Reduced imports and increased domestic production have strengthened the dollar. Falling prices have even done in some of the state-run synthetic-fuel white elephants—both here and in Canada. And while the drop in prices hasn't slain price inflation, it has given it a good kick in the shins. This new energy crisis has shaken up the Washington policy-makers. Their solution to the crisis of a steady, plentiful, and cheap supply of oil is a call for a tax of up to ten dollars a barrel on imported oil.

Self-styled "libertarian conservative" William Safire now stands at the fore in demanding severe new oil taxes, but he is not alone. The *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, Senators Pete Domenici and Robert Dole, economist Herbert Stein of the America Enterprise Institute, academics like Paul W. MacAvoy of Yale, and White House "revenue enhancers" (that's tax raisers to the unlettered masses) like David Stockman have come out for hefty new taxes on energy. The rationales behind each of the proposals vary (some of the plans call for new taxes on natural gas as well), but the basic message is that the falling price of oil now allows the government to impose a "painless" tax on oil that will (hold your breath) cut the deficit in half, slash interest rates, stall the levying of any new taxes, and leave military and human-services spending untouched. In Safire's scheme the ten-dollar-per-barrel tax on imported oil would directly raise \$20 billion, and as domestic suppliers raised their prices to match the import level, the windfall-profits tax would nab another \$28 billion. The tax would be painless because the new price of gasoline would not exceed the price at the pump before the recent decline.

But the free ride only begins there. In Safire's mind "this one-shot jump takes pricing out of Arab hands, which have jacked up prices of oil fourteenfold in a decade, and places it in our own hands; it is an insurance premium against blackmail." Logic like this from the author of the superb *On Language*? If our own government capriciously boosts oil prices, haven't we been blackmailed just the same?

The careerists at the State Department have also been agitating for just such a tax, so that we can "stabilize" world oil markets and the governments of foreign suppliers—at consumer expense. (No matter that Kissinger's successful advice to the shah of Iran to raise the price of oil did little to stabilize his regime.) Safire goes a step further,

suggesting that we use this new tax as a foreign-policy weapon, exempting non-OPEC Mexico until it crosses us on El Salvador and Canada until it fails to abide by one of our semiannual grain embargoes against the Soviets.

The oil price drop has benefited you and me, but it has hit the government right in the Treasury. Every one-dollar-a-barrel drop in the price of oil ends up leaving \$5.5 billion in the pockets of consumers—\$1.4 billion of which might have otherwise gone to the tax man. It doesn't take a careerist at State to figure out that high oil prices and higher oil taxes enrich the government.

In the world of Washington, only the dentist Energy Secretary, James B. Edwards, seems to understand that the levying of new taxes on oil would be the first step to recontrol of an industry the government has only recently deregulated. "An import fee would distort our demand patterns, create an artificial distinction between domestic and foreign oil and set the stage for a whole new regulatory apparatus that would 'entitle' some refiners to special treatment if their oil costs more than somebody else's," Edwards argues. The last time we were blessed with the crisis of plenty in energy was before the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Instead of letting the market solve the temporary disruption of the oil business the war caused, Nixon continued price controls, which resulted in shortages. The government then jumped in with allocation guidelines, which lengthened gas lines. The windfall-profits tax was next—it discouraged energy production and drained billions from consumers' pockets and funneled part of the money into alternative energy schemes (synfuels, solar, geothermal, and the rest), all of which were more costly than the wildest sheik's demand. America's proven reserves and production plummeted all through the seventies. The OPEC countries had it made. In the absence of a competitive U.S. market, it became easier and easier for them to raise prices. Thus what should have been an energy-crisis blip became an eight-year-long balloon of price increases and shortages.

The supply of oil today is steady, plentiful, and cheap, because the economic information about its supply and demand is no longer warped by the distorting mirror of rules, regulations, and price controls that made the seventies a disaster. That decade proved Washington to be King Midas in reverse when it comes to economic affairs. Everything it touches turns to . . . dirt. Hence this new tax idea, which implies that cheaper energy is bad for us. Far from being painless, this new tax would make our oil about the most expensive in the world, and it would put a choke hold on our faltering industrial machine that would price our goods out of the world market.

Oil is not a foreign-policy weapon. It does not exist to curb deficits (only spending cuts can do that effectively) or prop up the megastate of military and human-services spending. Its purpose is to keep us warm, fuel our industries, and transport us. Only by stymieing the tax raisers can we continue to enjoy the new energy crisis.

—JACK SHAFER

Some people get very angry over what they read in **THE NEW REPUBLIC**

Sometimes they're angry *at* us—we have a habit of jabbing at cherished political beliefs and philosophies. More often, they're angry *along with us*—sharing our outrage at some of the inanities that pass for reason in Washington these days.

But always, it's an anger of the noblest kind. The reaction of people who really care—who know that the search for truth can take some pretty aggravating twists and turns: across party lines, beyond conventional wisdoms, head-on against strong personal convictions.

Will THE NEW REPUBLIC make *you* angry? Only if you care about where our country is going in politics, foreign affairs, social justice, economics, the arts. Only if you're prepared to read some of the most provocative, compelling, cage-rattling journalism appearing anywhere today. By such lights as Morton Kondracke, John Kenneth Galbraith, Nicholas von Hoffman, Carl Bernstein, Joseph Alsop, Lester Thurow, Shirley Christian, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Garry Wills, Paul Fussell. And, of course, our own curmudgeonly "TRB," Richard Strout. For example:

In a series of timely articles, THE NEW REPUBLIC explored the idea behind supply-side economics: that producers should be encouraged, through tax incentives, to produce. We agreed with the *idea*, but not the practice under *Reagan*. Are rich people, we asked, the true producers of wealth? Or just the most conspicuous consumers of it?

While everyone else was praising Japan's "miracle economy" to the skies, Daniel Yergin in THE NEW REPUBLIC predicted that the Japanese bullet train may be headed off the tracks. And for a reason you probably never thought of.

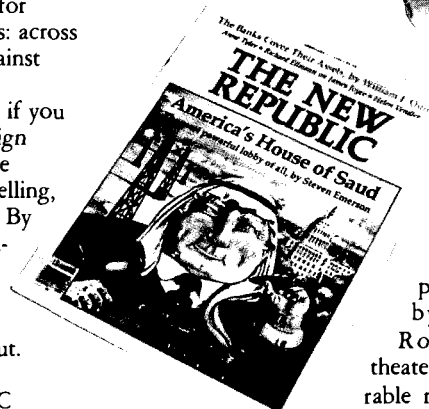
In several articles, we pointed out how giant corporations seem to be running American foreign policy. We didn't cite merely the obvious cases, like Chile. We showed how U.S. oil companies were propping up the Marxist regime in Angola and how banks were siding with the Russians against Solidarity in Poland. And a special investigative report in THE NEW REPUBLIC (reprinted later by newspapers around the country) revealed how Saudi Arabia secretly pressured corporations into lobbying to pass the AWACS bill.

While even many conservative publications urged a wait-and-see attitude shortly after martial law was imposed in Poland, THE NEW REPUBLIC took a tough line from the start.

And if you also tend to get emotional about things cultural, there's still more in store for you. Our outspoken TV critic, Mark Crispin Miller . . . who didn't hesitate to blast the phoniness of a sentimental special on race relations, or shy from praising a performer he

healthy
Solomon, director
division. "But once
pen. Only recently, a
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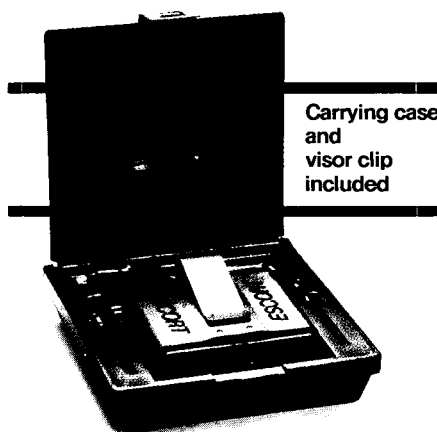
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